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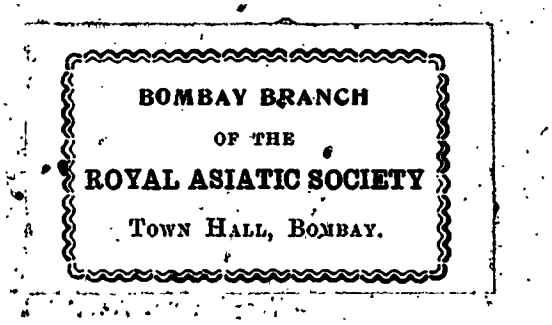

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THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HEBREW REPUBLIC.

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BY

THOMAS LEWIS, M.A.

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THE

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BOOK VI. CONTINUED.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of childbirth. The nursing, the habit, and education of children.

AFTER marriage, the barren womb was esteemed not only a reproach, but a curse; and to want children was to be civilly dead, according to the old proverb among the Jews, "A man childless "is lifeless;" and for the better security of propagation, the husbands not only avoid conversing with their wives, when they have the custom of women upon them, but all the time they are breeding, and as long as they continue to suckle their children. CHAP. XXXIX.

Moses in his laws has prescribed nothing concerning the rites of childbirth, which among the modern Jews are perfectly enthusiastic and diabolical; they consist of charms and conjurations, which are equally horrid and ridiculous to mention. The women among the Hebrews, no doubt, were decent and laudable in their travails: at their delivery they were placed upon stools or seats, purposely contrived for Exod. i. 16.

BOOK VI. them to sit on, that the midwives might better do their office. Their infants they nursed at their own breasts, unless some unavoidable necessity required otherwise; and they made a public feast at the
Gen. xxi. 8. weaning of their children. They used them tenderly till they were about twelve years old, and then they were placed to that art or profession by which
Joma fol. 82, 1. they were to live: and, says the tradition, when they were so old, they inured them to fasting, that they might be able to fast upon the day of atonement. It is a received doctrine in the Jewish schools, that if children were born lame, or blind, or defective, it was a punishment inflicted for the sin of their parents, who had been remiss in discharging some of the legal ordinances; especially in some particular rites of cleansing and purification.

The women among the later Jews are not allowed to go with open breasts during the time of nursing, nor to observe the public fasts, nor to expose their tender sucklings to the sun or moon; nor, when the child is able, do they permit it to go bareheaded out of doors, because on a time one of their masters seeing a child in this posture pronounced it unlawfully begotten, and that his mother was either menstruous or unchaste in her embraces. They usually girdle their children as soon as their bodies will endure it, and when they are grown up, none of them go ungirt to the synagogues; for if they should do so, they think that not only thereby the benefit of the prayers is forfeited, but also the Divine displeasure is provoked; hence is that saying, "Ungirt, unblessed:" there is another proverb common among them, that "there is no fruit at autumn, where "there is no budding in the spring;" which the Jews

apply to the education of their children; whose riper years they hope to have pious and well governed, when their tender minds are duly instructed in religion and virtue. The law of Moses has bound it upon parents to use their utmost diligence to instil the Divine laws into the minds of their youth; particularly this principle, that there is but one God, and to inspire them with a fear and love of his sublime Majesty: the father was to instruct the sons, and the mother the daughters: this great duty they were to inculcate at home and abroad, night and day; from whence the Jews have made this one of their affirmative precepts, that twice a day they should recite these words, *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord;* which is a very dilute sense of this precept, wherein Moses requires not merely their saying these words, (in which there might be a great deal of superstition,) but taking all opportunities to imprint them upon the minds and hearts of their children.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Deut. vi. 7.

Deut. vi. 4.

The Jewish writings give this account of the method of institution made use of in the education of their children. As soon as they were able to pronounce, they are taught such sentences of holy writ as seem to favour their religion, and to infuse into them the seeds of piety; and to this purpose they frequently use the exhortation of Solomon, *Catechise a child in the way that he should walk, when he is young, and his old age will not depart from it.* And because the sabbath is appointed for the more solemn celebration and instruction in religious rites, and ordained to be one character whereby the Hebrews are distinguished from all other people; therefore the Jews are signally diligent to implant upon

BOOK VI. their children a great veneration for this festival: they employ the morning and evening of this queen of feasts (as the rabbins call the sabbath) in teaching their children several pious forms of saluting their parents; in which greetings, they allow not their children to use the name of God till they are seven years old; that they might retain a greater regard for that name which is holy and reverend; and therefore the first salutations of the children are plainly, "I wish you a good sabbath, may you have "a good day."

Being perfect in this decent way of salutation, they are next instructed in the elements of learning; and their first lessons are concerning the name and figure of the Hebrew letters, in which they use this method: first, upon a smooth stone or board, they cast two or more letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and inform the child of the name and figure of it, and when the child is able to pronounce these letters, they proceed to more, according to the capacity and towardness of the scholar; and so forward, till the whole alphabet be run over. When this task is finished, the children are taught to join their letters into short and easy syllables; and having attained to read a little, they are put into the first book of Moses, and so pass through the whole Pentateuch. When they are taught to write, there is a draught of very large letters, made upon a fair paper, which they imitate upon a thin paper laid upon it.

Pirke Aboth & Not. Fag. When the parents have grounded their children at home in the prelusory rudiments, they send them to school, and every morning before they go, it is the mother's office to provide them something to eat, which is usually sweetened with honey or sugar,

and serves them both for breakfast and for instruction; for at giving the child this sweet morsel she uses these words, "As this is sweet to thy palate, so "let learning be sweet to thy mind." And she gives directions how he should behave himself at school, as that he is to use no filthy words, but such as he reads in the law; because God loves clean lips, pure and wholesome discourse, and that all communication ought to be agreeable to the Divine word; next, that the child must not spend his time in idle talk, to his own hinderance, or to his fellows'; with other such directions, as a mother's care and affection shall suggest. At five years old the children commonly go to school, where they spend five years in learning the Pentateuch; and at ten years old they are put (if they prove towardly) to read the Mischna, and some select parts of the Talmud; which contain the body of their institutes. During the time that the boy is learning the five books he is called *the son of the law*, and when he is thirteen years old he is styled *the son of the precept;* for now the youth receives the passover, and is purified: until he comes to be a son of the precept, the father stands chargeable for all his miscarriages, but at thirteen years old the lad being supposed to be able to discern virtue from vice, and good from evil, he is bound to answer for his own faults. Therefore the father having before a synagogue of ten ancient Jews declared that his son, whom he there produces, has been well instructed in the law, and understands the general decisions of the Mischna and the Talmud, and that he can repeat the daily prayers; he lets them know, that he no longer charges himself with his crimes, but he leaves him to answer for himself, and to be

CHAP. XXXIX.

BOOK VI. punished if he shall be delinquent against the commandments. At fifteen, he is obliged to learn the Gemara, at eighteen he is to marry, and at twenty he is to buy and sell, and act for himself.

The daughters are instructed by the mother, with great care, in the business that belongs to their sex; they were seldom allowed to go abroad; and upon this account, a daughter in the Hebrew language is called *alma*, which signifies as much as a person concealed, and close confined.

CHAP. XL.

The duties of children to their parents, and of parents to their children. The punishment of a rebellious son.

THE duty of children to parents is founded upon the law of nature; and as such enjoined in the institutions of Moses; it is a duty of so great concernment, that it is taught and placed immediately after those precepts which peculiarly relate to divine worship; intimating, that next to the majesty of God, our parents are to be honoured with that reverence, love, obedience, and support, that belongs to them. In one place of the law, children are commanded to Exod. xx. 12. *honour their father and their mother;* in another, Lev. xix. 3. to *fear their mother and their father;* the difference Tract Memarim. c.6. of which expression signifies (says Maimonides) that no distinction ought to be made between them, but they are both equally to be honoured and reverenced. The breach of this command is punished with death by the law of Moses; and long life, which is the greatest worldly blessing, is promised to the

dutiful and obedient, and that in their own country; CHAP. XL.
which God had peculiarly enriched with abundant marks of his care and favour. The proper expressions of fear and reverence are, (according to the rabbins,) not to sit in their seats, nor to contradict them in any thing they say, much less to cavil against them; nor to call them by their proper names, but to add the title of Sir, &c. as we speak, or the like: the signs of honour are, not to sit down in their presence, to provide them necessaries if they fall into poverty; to clothe them, to cover them, to lead them in and out, to wash their hands and feet, and, say some, to go a begging for them. Selden de Syned. lib. ii. c. 13.

Now to defeat the force of this precept, the Pharisees and the masters of the traditions had invented two devices, as wicked as they were ridiculous; the one was, that a father was to be made no account of, in comparison of a rabbin, who taught them the law; the other, that if a son bound himself by a vow or execration not to relieve his parents, he was released from all obligation to do so; for whatever was included under his vow was utterly unlawful to be applied to the support of his parents; it was as unlawful as *corban;* which being consecrated, must not be touched, or employed to any other uses. The plain meaning, says Dr. Hammond, is this: A parent, being in want, requires relief of his son; the son answers, that he hath vowed he will not, and so that to him it remains not lawful to relieve him; and the Pharisees approve of this practice, that he may thus evacuate his duty to his parents; and though quite contrary to this precept of honouring and relieving them, yet it was by them thought obligatory to the frustrating of that commandment: but that Maimon. in Gezelah. c. 12. Annot. on Matt. xv. 5.

BOOK VI. opinion, as the annotator goes on, is more ordinarily received by the ancients, which Origen had from a Hebrew, and is thus explained by Theophylact: The Pharisees persuading children to give nothing to their parents, but to consecrate all to the treasury of the temple, taught them to say, "O father, that "which thou desirest to be profited by me," that is, relieved, "is a gift that is consecrated to the temple;" and so they divided with the children all that they had, and the poor old parents were left without any relief in their old age. This interpretation is probable also, yet seems not to be agreeable to the Jewish practice; for among them appears no footsteps of devoting to God, or consecrating in this matter.

Selden de Jure Nat. lib. vi. c. 6.

But though the doctors of the Jews have given a toleration to unnatural children, who refuse sustenance to their parents, overwhelmed with age and poverty, yet they have judicial laws against the fathers who refuse to perform the duties of nature, in which they distinguish the age of the children. When they are under six years of age, the judge compels the father to maintain them, whether he be rich or poor, willing or unwilling; after this age the father is cited, and it is represented to him, that he is crueller than the savage beasts that provide for their young. If he yield not to those remonstrances, an estimate is taken of his goods, and he is obliged to give to his children an alms, in proportion to the value of his estate; which charity is employed to breed up the children: nor is the distinction of age the only thing remarkable in this custom, but there are two things more observable: the first, that the father is by the law dispensed with maintaining his

children after six years old, and he does it afterwards only by way of alms; secondly, that the law of charity is more extensive than the law of nature, since this father, who is dispensed with maintaining his son at six years old, is forced by stripes to give him an alms, because it is one of the affirmative precepts, which admits of no distinction of sex or age; and for the performance whereof, recourse may be had to violence and scourging. CHAP. XL.

The honour due to parents is guarded by severe penalties in the Levitical law: if a son presumed to strike his father or his mother, so as to wound them and to make the blood come, or to leave a mark of the stroke, by making the flesh black and blue, he was put to death (strangled, say the Hebrews) by the sentence of the judge; there being a competent witness of the fact, as in other cases: the giving them saucy words, or making mouths at them, which signified contempt, was punished also with whipping; there was no occasion to say any thing of killing them, for all wilful murder was capital, and punished with death. This crime was so horrid, that the laws of most nations made no provision against it; Solon, it is observed, made no law against it, because it was supposed that no man could be so wicked; nor was this sin known among the Persians, as Herodotus says, in his days, nor is there any mention of it in the law of the twelve tables, among the Romans: but in after-times there were most severe laws enacted against parricide; and Plato, particularly, would have him that killed either father or mother, brethren or children, not only to be put to death, but to be disgraced after his execution, by throwing his dead body, naked, Exod. xxi. 15. Lib. ix. de Legib.

BOOK VI. into a common place without the city, where all the magistrates in the name of the people should every one throw a stone at his head, and then carrying him out of the coasts, leave him there without burial. But nothing of this is to be found in the Jewish pandects.

Exod. xxi. 17. Lev. xx. 9. To curse a father or mother was likewise capital by stoning; and this law the Hebrews interpret to concern those who cursed their dead parents, no less than those who cursed them when they were alive; but not without premonition and witnesses, as in other capital offences; and not unless they cursed their parents by some proper name of God, as Mr. Selden observes out of the Jewish doctors; otherwise he was only scourged. This and the preceding law appointed death as the punishment of such crimes, because they were a sign (says Maimonides) of a desperate malice and audacious wickedness; being a subversion of that domestic order, which is a principal part of good government.

Lib. ii. de Synod. c. 13.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 41.

Deut. xxi. 18. A stubborn and rebellious son was to be stoned to death; by a stubborn son, the Jews understand one that will not do what he is bidden, and by a rebellious one, that does what he is forbidden; if such a one behaved not only undutifully but perversely to them, and with such contempt of their authority as argued that he had not only lost all filial affection and reverence, but resolved, after frequent admonitions and corrections, if he could, to ruin and undo his parents, they might appeal to the court of justice, and desire officers might be sent to apprehend him; when they had brought him, the judges examined the parents, and their testimony alone seems to be sufficient to convict him without any

further evidence. This prosecution, say the Jews, relates only to a son that was no less than thirteen years old and a day, and so might be presumed to know his duty, and be capable of good counsel and advice: they say further, that a daughter was not included under this law, because she was unable to do so much mischief to a family as a wicked son was. The matter of complaint was, that the son was a glutton and drunkard, had abandoned all reverence and regard for his parents, and was so profligate and debauched, that he would not only spend their estate, if he had it, but was inclined to kill them, that he might get it the sooner into his own hands. It is observed, that the sins of gluttony and drunkenness are no where made capital by the law of Moses, but when they were attended with rebellious disobedience to parents; who say the Hebrew doctors were to bring witnesses, that this son had stolen some of their goods and sold them, that he might spend the money in these vices, under which others are comprehended that usually go along with them. And that he had done this after he had been admonished and chastised, so that he was not to be punished as this law at last prescribes, till he was grown incorrigible; for they say the court was first to order him to be whipt, and not to proceed further, till upon a new complaint it was proved that he had run into the same riotous courses since that punishment; then upon this second testimony, as they called it, the court gave sentence against him that he should be stoned to death; unless the parents, before the sentence was pronounced, declared they gave him their pardon. The offender, says Josephus, was dragged out of the city, in the sight

BOOK VI. of all the people, and there executed; there he was to lie as a public spectacle till the evening, and there he was buried; which was the practice observed to criminals, who were condemned and suffered by the courts of justice. The punishment of such children as are here described, was very severe among other nations, particularly among the Romans, after the power was taken from parents to sell them or put them to death, and the censure of them committed to the magistrates. No wonder therefore that Moses ordained this penalty, when a son was come to such a degree of profligate wickedness, that he endeavoured to ruin and destroy his parents; and this severity, some states have thought fit to follow in these latter ages; for David Chytræus says, that he himself saw an example of it at Zurich, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty, where a disobedient son was beheaded, who had cursed his mother and beaten her almost to death.

CHAP. XLI.

The power of parents over their children; the privileges of the firstborn; the rights of inheritance and succession among the Hebrews.

THE paternal power, among the ancient Romans, was so great, that they might put their children to death as they did their slaves, without any process before a magistrate; and this some have conceived to be a natural right, and imagined that God would not have commanded Abraham to kill his son, but that it was a part of his inherent power; however this be, the Hebrews, we find, were not long intrusted

with it, but it was committed to the public judges, as the most disinterested persons; yet there is reason to believe that they had a right to sell their children in cases of extreme poverty and distress. This seems to appear from the story of the poor widow that cried after the prophet Elisha, that the creditor was come to take away her two sons for bondsmen, because she was not able to pay her husband's debts. The learned Huetius thinks, that from the Jews this custom was propagated to the Athenians, and from them to the Romans; and the Hebrew doctors have a fancy that this prophet was Obadiah; and that the creditor was Jehoram the son of Ahab, which are notions utterly ungrounded.

CHAP. XLI.

2 Kings iv. 1.

Among the children, the eldest son was invested with peculiar privileges; particularly, he had a right to a double portion of his father's estate, that is, of all that he was in possession of when he died, but not (as Mr. Selden shews to be the opinion of the Jewish lawyers) of that which was his in reversion after his death. And this claim was so unalterable, that the father had no power to disinherit him; for the law provides, that if a man had two wives, and the first was less beloved than the second; the son of her who had his first love was to enjoy the effects of it, and entitled to a double portion of all that he had; and the reason given is, because he was begot in his full vigour, and had a right by ancient custom antecedent to the law, which made the firstborn the head of the family, and gave him as much more as any of his brethren of the estate belonging to it, that he might be able to maintain and support the dignity of it. A son born after the death of his father was excluded from this privilege, but if there

De Success. cap. 6.

Deut. xxi. 15.

BOOK VI. was no son, and the inheritance was to be equally divided among the daughters, the eldest daughter had no right to a double share of the estate.

The Jews commonly take notice of three prerogatives belonging to the firstborn; a double part of the inheritance, the priesthood and the kingdom, (as they speak,) that is, the principal authority among his brethren; the first of these, says the Chaldee Paraphrast, was given to Joseph, the second to Levi, and the third to Judah, because Reuben had forfeited all the rights of his primogeniture by his incest with his father's wife; but Mr. Selden (who gives a full account of the Jews' opinion in this matter) acknowledges, that the priesthood was not confined to the firstborn before the law, as appears by Abel's offering up sacrifice as well as Cain, and Moses being a priest as well as Aaron, unless by this observation we understand the office of the chief priest; nor is it true that the firstborn always succeeded in the kingdom, as appears evidently from the regal table of that nation.

Lib. i. de Synedr. c. 16.

However, the firstborn among the Old Hebrews were eminently distinguished, as it were, by a natural right from the rest of the children, otherwise it could not have been so criminal in Esau to have sold the prerogative of his birthright; by this, among other privileges, he was entitled to a more than ordinary blessing from his dying father; he went in a richer habit as the heir of the family, between whom and the other sons, the affection of the parents usually made a difference in their apparel. He sat at the table next to his father, and enjoyed other advantages, that gave him a sort of authority among his brothers and sisters, and the servants of

Gen. xxvii. 15, 16, &c.

Gen. xliii. 33.

the family. The other sons, if there were any, had their equal share in the paternal estate, and the daughters might have legacies left them in money and moveable goods, which being of his own getting, the father might dispose of them by his will to whom he pleased. CHAP. XLI.

If there were no son, the inheritance was to pass unto the daughter, or equally to all the daughters, and this practice was observed before it was enjoined by a law, at the first division of the land of Canaan: for Zelophehad dying in the wilderness, being one of those that were numbered to have a portion in the land, left behind him no more than three daughters; who, observing that only males from twenty years old were numbered, apprehended that they, being females, were excluded from having any inheritance among the Israelites, and so their family would be extinguished. Under this difficulty they apply to Moses, who after he had inquired of God, declared that they were heiresses to their dead father and represented his person, and therefore they justly put in their claim, and had their allotment in the land according to this decision. This special case afterwards passed into a general law, and gave occasion to the principal rules, that relate to the succession to the inheritances in the Hebrew republic. Numb. xxvii. 1—4, &c.

It was justly observed by Maimonides, that what a man leaves should come to his family, and to those that are next of kin to him; because, says he, the nearer any person is to us, we are inclined by natural affection to have the greater regard to him: upon a default therefore of daughters, the estate passed to the brethren of the deceased, unless the father was alive, who undoubtedly, the Jews say, More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 42.

BOOK VI. was the next heir, but not mentioned, because it was unnecessary, or, as some conceive, because it would have been a melancholy thing to speak of a father's burying all his children without issue. This law is understood by the Hebrew doctors as if Moses had said, "If he have no daughter, he shall give his inheritance to the next of his kindred, to his father "for instance, and afterwards he shall give it to his "brethren, that is, the children of his father;" and the same is to be said of the grandchildren, unto whom the brethren of a father dying without issue are heirs; for the grandfather stands in the same relation to a father that a father doth to his son.

Selden de Success. in Bona Defuncti, c. 12.

If his father has no brethren, says the law, *then ye shall give it to his kinsman, that is next of kin to him of his family, and he shall possess it;* that is, to his brother's children, or to those who are descended from them, or from his father's brethren; but no consideration was to be had of his mother's kindred (as the Jewish lawyers say) who could never be capable of the inheritance; which they gather, not only from these words of the law, which determine the inheritance to his family, (that is, the family of the father before mentioned, not to the family of the mother,) but from the frequent mention of the father of families, or rather kindreds of the fathers, to be found in the books of Moses, Chronicles, Ezra, and other places of scripture; from whence arose this solemn maxim of the Talmudists: "The "family or kindred of the mother is never called by "the name of kindred;" that is, it has not the effect of a kindred, in succession to inheritances; and this is what Mr. Selden observes out of the old book Siphri, that families follow the fathers. This author

Ibid. c. 13. Exod. vi. 20.

has given an example drawn up by Maimonides of such a succession out of the holy scriptures; Amram had two sons, Aaron and Moses; if they had both died without issue Miriam their sister had inherited; and if she had died in like manner, the inheritance of the family would have reverted to Koath the father of Amram, or, he being dead, to his three sons the brethren of Amram, viz. Izhur, Hebron, and Uzziel, as the heirs of Kohath: and there would have been no consideration of primogeniture, both because none of them was the firstborn, and because the inheritance was not in the possession of his father at the time of his death.

This was ordained as a statute of judgment among the Israelites, as a law whereby to determine the right of succession in future times, and to be observed inviolably; so that no father should have power to make any other settlement; but if either by word or writing he declared his will to be that his son should not inherit, his act was null and void, as the Jewish lawyers resolve, from the title of the law which was called *a statute of judgment*, that is, a rule whereby to judge of succession into inheritances; and consequently if a man had no son, and made a will in prejudice of his daughter or his brethren, it had no force, because it was expressly contrary to this law.

CHAP. XLII.

The law of servants. Of the redemption and manumission of servants. The rite of boring the ear through with an awl.

THE servants in the Hebrew republic were commonly either such as were Jews by descent, or were

BOOK VI. originally Gentiles; and afterwards became proselytes wholly to the religion of their masters, or at least renounced idolatry, and conformed to the precepts of Noah. A Hebrew might come into a state of servitude three ways; he might either sell himself by reason of poverty; or he might be sold by the court of judgment, as in a case of theft, for which he was unable to make satisfaction; or he might be sold by his parents, to relieve them in their distress. It was unlawful for a man to sell himself till his poverty became extreme, and he had nothing left; but was obliged to preserve his life by the price that was given for him. No man, says Maimonides, might sell himself to lay up the money, or to buy goods, or to pay his debts, but merely that he might get bread to eat; neither was it lawful as long as he had so much as a garment left. A Hebrew was not to sell himself to a proselyte, or to a Gentile, but to one of his own nation; who was bound to treat him kindly, not as a slave, or as a captive taken in the wars, over whom he had an absolute dominion; but he was to be used as a hired servant, who had hired himself for wages for a time, and then was at his own disposal again: if the master used him rigorously, the servant might complain, and procure a remedy by the authority of the magistrate.

Lev. xxv. 39.

Selden de Jure Nat. lib. vi. c. 7.

Such a Hebrew was to be discharged from his servitude upon the seventh year from the time of his sale; he was to serve six complete years, unless the jubilee happened to intervene, then every one was set free, though he had not served so long.

Deut. xv. 12.

If a Hebrew sold himself to a proselyte or a Gentile, (which he ought not to do,) the sale was good,

Lev. xxv. 48.

but he had the same benefit of being redeemed, as if he had been sold to one of his own nation; any man of his family might redeem him; or if after his sale an estate had fallen to him, he might redeem himself, and his master could not refuse his dismission. The method was, to compute how long he had served, and what time was still behind, and what price was paid for him; and then, according to the number of years gone and to come, the master was to make his demands. The service he had done was to be valued as the labour of an hireling, (who worked for so much by the day or year,) and deducting that from the price which was given for him, the remainder was the price of his redemption. If he had served but a few years, and there were many to come before the jubilee, then less was to be deducted from what his master gave for him, and the price of his redemption was higher; but if there remained but few years, less was to be given for his redemption, because he had been a long time in his master's service. It is evident, that a servant sold to a proselyte had not the benefit of being discharged the seventh year, as Hebrew servants who served Hebrew masters had; for it had been unequal, if Hebrews sold to proselytes or strangers had been released from their service so soon, when the children of proselytes sold to Hebrews were to be their inheritance for ever; it was more reasonable (and therefore enacted) that the Hebrews sold to proselytes should not be free till the year of jubilee, unless they were redeemed by themselves or by their friends. A proselyte was bound, when he bought a Hebrew servant, to maintain his family while he served him, as the Hebrews were

CHAP. XLII.

BOOK VI. bound to do, when they bought one of their own nation.

To prevent the cruelty of masters over their servants, the law provided, that if a master struck out the eye or the tooth of a servant, he had a right to his freedom, and could demand his liberty: it is but reasonable that this privilege should extend to all servants, though of another nation, not merely to those who were Jews; and so Maimonides seems to allow, when he says, this is a precept of pity and mercy to poor wretches, who should not be any longer afflicted with servitude, when they have lost a member of their body. And therefore the common resolution of their doctors is very cruel, that Gentile servants, (whom they call Canaanites,) who were not circumcised, should not have the benefit of this law; for they thus distinguish servants of another nation: some were circumcised and baptized, others still remained Gentiles, or were only proselytes of the gate; the former kind might be set free three ways; by being redeemed by a price, paid by themselves or any other friend; by manumission; and by virtue of this law, upon the loss of any member; for though only an eye or a tooth be mentioned, yet all other principal members of the body are included, which being mutilated cannot be repaired; which they reckon to be four and twenty in all. If they did not dismiss such a servant thus maimed, the court of judgment, upon an appeal to it, compelled them to give him his liberty, with a certificate of it; but the second sort of Gentile servants could be made free only by the two first ways, having (according to this doctrine) no manner of advantage from the indulgence of this law.

Exod. xxi. 26.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 41.

The court of judgment had power to sell a thief that was unable to make satisfaction to the person that received the damage, and he was to be a servant for six years; but this sale, they say, did not extend to both sexes, for a woman was not to be sold for theft: not but that his servitude might end sooner by manumission, or redemption, or by the death of his master, if he were a Gentile or a proselyte; or if he were an Hebrew his death put an end to it, in case he had no son. His master also was bound to maintain his wife and children (if he had any) all the time, giving them food and raiment, and a dwelling, though they were not to be his servants: if the man was single, so he was to depart; but if he was married when he was sold, as the master was not to let his wife and children want the necessaries of life, while he continued his slave, so when he was free, he was not to meddle with them, or to detain them from their father or their husband. Unto such a servant as this, his master might give a Gentile maid to his wife, (and no other Hebrew but such as he might marry a Gentile,) that he might beget children of her, who were to be the master's servants or slaves for ever. The Hebrew doctors say, that the masters could not do this, unless such a servant had a lawful wife and children before of his own, who might not be kept from him; but he might get children for himself as well as for his master, who could not impose upon him more than one maidservant to be his wife. He that sold himself was not subject to this law; but as his master could not force a wife of this sort upon him, so neither was he bound, when the servant went free, to bestow any gift upon him; which was due only to him that was sold by the

CHAP. XLII.

Exod. xxi. 2.

Levit. xxv. 41.

BOOK VI. court for theft. After the expiration of six years, the master was allowed to furnish such a servant with what was necessary for his comfortable subsistence, and to set him up in the world; for all he got during his service was his master's; and, says the law, he was *worth a double hired servant* who served at most for three years only, and had wages paid him all the time, whereas he had served twice as long, and for nothing; so that considering what wages he gave the other, and how small a price, perhaps, the master paid for this, he would find himself sufficiently a gainer, and therefore should think it no hardship to give him a gratuity when he went away. But this is to be understood of such as went out free, after they had served six years, not of those who were redeemed by their friends, or redeemed themselves with their own money; for such might be supposed to have no occasion for their master's kindness, as they had, who had nothing to help them when they were out of their slavery. The law obliged the master to furnish the servant liberally out of his flock, out of his floor, and out of his winepress; no certain measure is prescribed to his bounty, but every one is left to express his affection freely; and the Hebrew doctors have determined, that the master is obliged to give the servant at the least thirty shekels of silver.

Deut. xv. 13.

Isa. xvi. 14.

It must be observed, that the wife of such a servant was a slave as well as himself when he married her, and she was given to wife merely that he might beget slaves of her; who therefore continued with the master as well as their mother, when the man had his liberty; for they were not so much his as his master's goods, who had such a power over them,

that he might circumcise them as he did his own children, without their consent. But if the love of the man to such a wife and children (who were not properly his own) was greater than his love of liberty, which made him still desire their company, and choose to stay with his master after his six years' service was expired; and if the master had a mutual affection to the servant, he was obliged to bring his slave before the court of justice, that it might appear he was not fraudulently or forcibly detained against the law, but at his own desire; and when the case had been heard, and the judges had given sentence, the master was to bring him to the door, or the doorpost of his house, and there to fix him, by boring his ear through with an awl: thus was he fastened to his house, and might not step over the threshold without leave of his master, but to be obedient to his will, till his death, (for his son could not detain him, when his father was dead,) or till the year of jubilee; unless he chose to release him, or he was redeemed. This is to be understood only of a servant that was sold by the court, not of him that sold himself, and though the Hebrews take this to have been a mark of infamy, set upon a man who chose servitude before liberty; yet it being his choice out of love to his master, it cannot be supposed that they intended by this act to disgrace him; it rather seems to be a solemn devoting him to his master's service, which was done, it is probable, in the presence of the judges. This custom of boring the ears of slaves, was, as the learned Bochart observes, the common practice in Syria and Arabia for many ages. This ceremony, if we believe the Hebrew doctors, was not used to maidservants who were

CHAP. XLII.

Hierozoic. lib. iii. c. 6.

BOOK VI. willing to stay with their masters, they only addicted themselves in a solemn form of words to their service for ever.

Kiddus fol. 14. c. 2. In servitude, says the Talmud, there are three differences; he that selleth himself is sold for six years, or more than six; he that is sold by the sanhedrim is sold for six years only; he that selleth himself is not bored through the ear with an awl; he that is sold by the sanhedrim is bored through; he that selleth himself, they provide no *viaticum* for him; one sold by the sanhedrim they do provide for; a man that selleth himself, his master cannot give him a Canaanitish handmaid to wife; to him that is sold by the sanhedrim he may.

CHAP. XLIII.

The selling of children for servants; the case of a maiden sold. The buying of slaves of other nations.

BESIDES the two former sort of persons sold to be servants, there was a third, which were children sold into servitude by their parents: the case of a son was much the same with that of a poor He-
Exod. xxi. 7. brew, (who sold himself,) but a daughter was favoured with better conditions; which are thus explained by the Jewish writers: she was to be a virgin under age, that is, less than twelve years old and a day; if she was more than that, it was not lawful for the father to sell her; and when she came to be of age it put an end to her servitude, as well as the year of jubilee did, or redemption, or the death of her master; besides, her father might not sell her, unless he were reduced to extreme poverty;

if he did, without such necessity, he was forced by the court of judgment to redeem her, and she was not to be sold neither, unless there was some probability that the master or his son would take her to wife. Concerning this there was a previous agreement, and there was no occasion for other espousals; but if the master changed his mind and refused to marry her, she was obliged to serve him for six years, and she was sold for so long, unless she was redeemed (which her master could not refuse) or manumitted, or set free by the year of jubilee, or by the death of her master, or (which was peculiar in this case) the signs of her being ripe for marriage appeared. He could not sell her to an Hebrew of another family, but after the years expired she was set free for nothing, and her master was obliged to bestow gifts upon her for her support, after she obtained her liberty. If her master's son thought fit to marry her, she was to be used in all respects like a wife; and if he thought fit to take another wife after her, he was still bound to execute all that belong to a wife, to provide her food and raiment, and at certain times to cohabit with her as a husband. From this law the Hebrews have made a general rule, that these three things are owing to all wives from their husbands, alimony, clothes, and the conjugal duties; which they have attempted to settle with infinite niceties, too tedious and empty to be mentioned in this place.

If the Hebrews wanted slaves, they were to be such of other nations as were sold to them, or were taken captive in their wars. But it does not appear that they had any great number of them, for they were very laborious themselves, breeding their chil- Lev. xxv. 44.

BOOK VI. dren to look after their land and their cattle, (in which their estates chiefly consisted,) and being also very numerous in a small country. But upon occasion, they had liberty to purchase the children of proselytes both of circumcision and of the gate, and to make them slaves. When they were bought, they became their proper goods, and continued with them as their lands did, unless they found means to obtain their liberty by the methods above mentioned, but they received no advantage from the year of jubilee; the very bodies of such slaves and of their children they had power to bequeath after their death, and had the same power and dominion over them as they had over their lands, their goods, or their cattle.

Bab Kiddushin, fol. 22. 2. A servant, says the Talmud, is like a farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with money, or with a writing, or by some service done as a pledge or pawn. A servant bought by service looseneth the buyer's shoe, carrieth such things after him as are necessary for the bath, he unclothes him, washes, anoints, rubs, dresses him, puts on his shoes, and lifts him up from the earth. The price of a slave, according to Maimonides, was thirty pieces of silver, whether male or female, great or little, without any regard to sex, or shape, or size, or intrinsic value.

In Nizke Mammon. Per. 11.

Exod. xxi. 20. But notwithstanding this absolute right, if a master struck a Gentile servant with a rod, (as the law speaks,) and he died while he was beating him, he was punished, say the Hebrew doctors, with death. But others are of opinion, that he was rather to be punished for his cruelty as the judge who examined the fact thought fit; for his striking him with a rod,

not with a sword, was an evidence that he intended only to correct, and not to kill him; and besides, no man could be thought willing to lose his own goods, as such servants were. If the servant continued alive a day and a night, the master suffered no penalty, because it might be presumed he did not die of those blows, and his death being a loss to his master, he might well be judged not to have any intention to kill him, and was supposed to be sufficiently punished by losing the benefit of his service.

A servant of another nation, if he became a Jew, was not to be carried by his master out of Judæa against his will; if he was, and afterwards fled from him, he might not be delivered up, but permitted to dwell in the land of Israel; this the Jews also understand of a servant that fled from his master out of any of the countries of the Gentiles into Judæa, which was to be a safe refuge to him; if he embraced the Jewish religion, he was not to be abridged of his liberty, but allowed to settle himself where he pleased, in any part of the country, without any disturbance. If he became a perfect proselyte by circumcision, he was to be treated as a native Jew, and to have the same privileges with themselves in things civil and sacred: he was admitted to eat of the paschal lamb, and of the peace offerings, and no difference was made between him and an Israelite, only, say the Jews, a stranger was not allowed to be a member of the great sanhedrim. Deut. xxiii. 15.

There is an express law which forbids any hardships or injuries to be offered to strangers; if they were proselytes of the gate only, they were called *sojourners*, and were to be used with humanity; they might trade in the country, though they could Lev. xix. 33.

BOOK VI. not purchase land in it; they were not to be upbraided with their being strangers, or for their worshipping of idols heretofore, but to be used kindly, though not with such strict friendship as other proselytes, who observed the whole law; if they were
Lev. xxv. 36. poor, they were to be relieved, either by alms or by money, but without usury; and the charity of the Jews increased so far, that they entertained the unfortunate of other countries by building hospitals
Exod. xx. 10. for their reception. Proselytes of righteousness, whether servants or not, were obliged to observe the law of the sabbath; but other proselytes might work; yet if any such person was a servant to a Jew, his master might not employ him on the sabbath day in any business of his, but the man might work for himself if he pleased, being not obliged by this law.

CHAP. XLIV.

The art of war among the Hebrews. The military laws, concerning the seven nations of Canaan. Of proclaiming war and making peace.

De Rep. Hebr. Præfat. OF the military discipline of the Hebrews, says Cunæus, a very imperfect account is transmitted to posterity, yet must every one confess, that for bravery and true courage they were inferior to no nation in the world; for consider them under the circumstances of banished men when they came out of Egypt, and had wandered up and down in the deserts of Arabia for the space of forty years, and how surprising is it that they should encounter mighty and valiant nations, expel them and possess their country, where they built new towns, and dedicated

a most magnificent temple to the Almighty God. But, by the leave of this great writer, this remark seems to contradict what is observed by one who was well acquainted with their disposition, and asserts that *they gat not the land in possession through their own sword, neither was it their own arm that helped them, but the right hand of God, and his arm, and the light of his countenance, because he had a favour unto them:* it is certain that in the beginning of their republic (notwithstanding the figure they made in after-ages, when they served under Xerxes and Alexander, in whose wars they fought valiantly) they were a timorous and dastardly people, their spirits were broken with bondage, and they were more inclined to run away back into slavery, than to fight their way into Canaan; this base temper appeared plainly in many instances, particularly when they heard the report of the spies concerning the inhabitants of the land, which put the whole congregation into a fit of despair, and made them resolve to return into Egypt.

CHAP. XLIV.

Psalm xliv. 3, 4.

Numb. xiv. 1, 2.

And this behaviour seems the more unaccountable, if we consider the great encouragements and divine helps that were promised them, in order to inspire them with bravery when they engaged their enemy; the angel of God (supposed by the Jews to be Michael) was to go before them, and to strike a terror into the inhabitants of the land to make their conquest the easier; unusual swarms of hornets so infested the natives before the Hebrews came among them, that many of them were forced to leave their country, and to fly into other places, and when they came to give them battle, those creatures attacked them so violently, that they soon determined

Exod. xxiii. 20.

Josh. xxiv. 12.

BOOK VI. the victory. The Book of Wisdom calls them the *forerunners of God's host;* and Kimchi says, they flew into the eyes of the Canaanites, and made them so blind that they could not see to fight; and when they fled, they seem to have pursued them into their lurking holes, where they had hid themselves after the battle. Indeed the people of the seven nations were not to be destroyed at once, lest the land that was uninhabited should be possessed by wild beasts, which might have been dangerous to the Israelites in other parts where they were settled; for the Hebrews were not yet sufficiently numerous to people the whole country, especially when two tribes and a half were settled upon the other side Jordan. However, they were sure of an entire conquest, had they acted consistently with God's commands, who threatens them with utter destruction, if they did not drive out the natives; who notwithstanding were suffered to remain among them unsubdued, and therefore they were pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides; they were frequently overcome by their enemies, who triumphed over them, and reduced them into the rank of slaves.

Deut. vii. 20.

Numb. xxxiii. 55.

Schickard Jus Reg. Theor. 16.

The wars engaged in by the Hebrews were either such as were enjoined expressly by a Divine command, or such as were entered upon by the prince for the enlargement of his territories, and the honour of his sovereignty. In the first case, the king had absolute power to declare war and to impress soldiers, and no one could plead a privilege and exemption from service; but the bridegroom, say the rabbins, was obliged to leave his spouse upon the first night. In the latter, a voluntary war could not be undertaken by the prince, by virtue of his

prerogative, without the consent of the great sanhedrim, and whoever was by law excused from service might plead his privilege, and stay at home. CHAP. XLIV.

The wars appointed by Divine precept were to be waged against the seven nations of Canaan, which were to be utterly destroyed without mercy: these were the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizites, the Hivites and the Jebuzites, and Gergashites. There were ten nations inhabited this country in the days of Abraham, but three of them were either worn out since that time, or being but a small people were incorporated with the rest; for the Kenites and the Kenizzites are not mentioned by Moses, and the Rephaim possessed but a small part of Canaan, the great body of them being in Bashan on this side Jordan. The Gergashites are likewise said by some to have fled upon the first summons of Joshua into Africa, and therefore are not named among those who gathered themselves to fight against the Hebrews: but the true reason of this seems to be, that these were a people mixed among the rest, and did not live in a separate part of the country by themselves; but it is evident, that they opposed Joshua, as well as other nations, and were delivered into his hand. This law of utter excision is applied by some of the Jewish writers to the Amorites and the Moabites; to the first, because they had not compassion upon the Israelites, when they were distressed in the wilderness, nor shewed them that civility which is commonly expressed to strangers in their travels; to the latter, for that with the assistance of the Midianites, they invited Balaam by the promises of a great reward to come from the eastern countries to curse them.

Deut. xx. 10, &c.

Gen. xv. 20, 21.

Josh. ix. 1, 2.

Josh. xxiv. 11.

Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.

Numb. xxii. 5, 6.

BOOK VI. But the more sober expositors conceive, that they were not to be treated with the same severity as the seven nations; for though the Hebrews were not to offer them peace, as they were obliged to do to all people, but to the seven nations devoted to destruction, yet if they desired peace they were bound to grant it. Grotius is of another opinion in his obser-
Chap. v. 43. vations upon St. Matthew, that God did not give the
Deut. i. 19. Jews any right to their country, (as appears from scripture,) and therefore the intent of the law is, that they should make no league with them of mutual assistance, they should admit them into no conjugal society, but look upon them as dangerous enemies, who being near neighbours would take all opportunities to disturb and suppress them.

There is an instance of great severity used by David against the Ammonites, after he had taken Rabbah, one of their cities, by storm; the occasion of the
2 Sam. x. 4. war was a vile indignity offered to his embassadors against the law of nations, and therefore he gave the city to be plundered by his soldiers, and the inhabitants he forced to inexpressible tortures; some of
2 Sam. xii. 31. them he caused to be sawn in sunder; over others, horses drew harrows with great iron teeth; others were drawn over sharp sickles or sharp stones; or rather he dragged them through the place where bricks were made, and there grated their flesh upon the ragged pieces of broken bricks. This dreadful punishment was to terrify other countries from breaking through the right of nations by abusing public embassadors; though many have thought it too severe, and looked upon it as an argument that David did this in the state of his impenitence, when the mild and gentle spirit of God was departed from

him, and he was become cruel and furious, as well as lustful and incontinent. The captives of the Edomites taken by Amaziah were likewise used with uncommon severity, for he took ten thousand of them alive, and brought them to the top of a rock and cast them down, that they were broken all in pieces. This was a very ancient punishment among the Romans and other nations, and was in use upon other occasions among the Israelites, who threw Jezebel down upon the stones out of the window at the command of Jehu. CHAP. XLIV. 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

No terms of peace, say some of the Jews, were to be offered to the seven nations, which were to be utterly extirpated as abominable idolaters, magicians, witches, and necromancers, for which and other crimes God thought them unfit to live longer upon the earth; and therefore commanded them to be utterly destroyed in war, which was undertaken by his order, and called therefore *the war of the Lord.* But Maimonides is of a contrary opinion, and asserts it to be unlawful to make war upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them terms of peace; and that such of the seven nations as renounced idolatry were to be received into amity and friendship. As for that objection which seems to be against this about the Gibeonites, who had no occasion by craft to have obtained a league with the Israelites, if this doctrine were true, his answer is, that Joshua had sent a summons to them with offers of peace which they rejected, but would afterwards have gladly received, when it was not to be admitted, and therefore they contrived that cunning way to be received into friendship. It is certain, that the most ancient writers of the Jews say, that Joshua sent three messages to Selden, lib. vi. &c. Jure Nat. et Gent. c. 13.

BOOK VI. the seven nations before he invaded them, though he undertook the war with a command from God to destroy them; the subject of the two first messages was either to fly or to make peace, the last was a declaration of war. After this, no mercy was to be shewn, but all were to be killed without distinction of age or sex, unless they repented and offered to become proselytes of the gate, which seems to have been the ancient practice, because we find the remains of these people often mentioned in scripture; and this custom is agreeable to the general law of nations, that such as beg for mercy should be saved.

Deut. xx. 10. But whatever was the law of war with regard to the seven nations, the people of other countries and cities were offered conditions of peace before war was proclaimed. The terms proposed were three: the first, that they should take upon them the observation of the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and consequently renounce idolatry; the second, pay an yearly tribute; the third, become their subjects, live in due subjection to them as their governors, who, though they could not make them slaves, yet might employ them in their public works, in repairing the king's palace, the walls and fortifications of cities, and other business of the same nature. If the conditions were refused, every male near a state of manhood was to be destroyed, but the women, the male and female children, were to be spared, and the cattle, the money, the householdstuff, and all manner of goods, were to be made a prey to the victors.

Leidekker de Rep. Heb. lib. vii. c. 6.

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8. The laws of war are given by Josephus, who introduces Moses speaking to the Hebrews in this

manner: "If it shall be the fortune of yourselves or "your posterity to undertake a war, God grant that "it may happen without the confines of your coun- "try; but if the matter must be decided by the "sword, you shall first send heralds to your ene- "mies; for before you engage in battle, it will be "necessary to parley, and to inform them that you "have a great army, that you are furnished with "numbers of horses, that you have military wea- "pons and stores, and, above all this, that you "fight under the favour and assistance of God: if "they condescend to reasonable conditions, accept "them, but if they offer to injure you, lead your "army against them, having God for your general, "and for your lieutenant him whom yourselves shall "choose, on the account of his conduct and courage. "When the battle is over and the day your own, "kill those enemies that resisted you in the fight, "the rest reserve as tributaries, except the people of "the land of Canaan, for they and all their families "are to be destroyed; give your enemies burial by "night; take heed, but especially in war, that no "woman use a man's apparel, nor man a woman's "habit. Forget not the injuries you suffered by the "Amalekites, lead out your armies against them, "and take vengeance of them for the wrongs they "did you when you were in the desert." Deut. xxv. 17.

CHAP. XLIV.

These Amalekites were devoted to utter extermination by the express command of God; and Abarbanel, inquiring why such severity was used against his people, when the Edomites, who were of the same race, were favourably dealt with, observes four reasons given by Moses why the Hebrews, when they were settled in Canaan, and were able to

BOOK VI. effect it, should remember, and not forget to extinguish and destroy this nation. The first is, that whereas men undertake war against others, either to defend their own territories or to subdue the country of their enemies, the Amalekites could pretend no such cause; for the Israelites did not pass by their country, and consequently gave them no apprehension of an invasion, nor had they any land of their own, which might tempt the Amalekites to covet it and drive them thence; but they engaged in this war with a petulant malice, only to reduce them again into a state of slavery: unto which he might have added, that their barbarity was much aggravated by assaulting them when they were newly delivered from grievous oppressions, and were unaccustomed to war, and without provocation. He gives this as a second reason, that it being the custom of all countries by the law of nations, before they begin a war, to denounce it by heralds, and to shew the grounds of it; they fell upon the Israelites unexpectedly, which was an instance of the basest treachery; they assaulted them, says one of their rabbins, like a bear in their way to devour the mother of the children. The third cause is, that they did not offer the Hebrews a pitched battle, but only fell upon their rear, and cut off those who for weariness were obliged to lag behind: what some of the Jews say, that the Amalekites cut off the privy members of certain of the tribe of Dan, in derision of circumcision, is disowned by others of them as having no foundation. He gives this as a last reason; that the Amalekites, though they knew how wonderfully the Hebrews were delivered from bondage, yet had no sense of the fear of God, but at-

Pirke Eliezer, cap. 44.

Schickard Jus Reg. p. 113.

tempted to enslave those whom God had lately freed, and continued under the protection of a glorious cloud. Upon these accounts the Amalekites were to be cut off without mercy when the Israelites were fully settled: for the command was not to be immediately executed, but after they were possessed of the land. This injunction was never to be forgotten, but imprinted deeply on their hearts and minds, and accordingly the Jews pretend to have had their hearts so set upon it, that when the officers were about to proclaim freedom from war, to those who had a right to be excused, they always excepted the war against the seven nations, and Amalek, in which every body was bound to assist. CHAP. XLIV. Deut. xx. 5, 6.

CHAP. XLV.

The age qualified to enter into the service. Persons exempt from bearing arms.

THE age that was thought proper to bear arms was from twenty to fifty; then a soldier had liberty to claim a discharge; but if he pleased he might continue in the service. At the first mustering of the army the priest *anointed of war*, or proper heralds appointed by him, made proclamation, that *if any man had built a new house, and had not dedicated it, or had planted a vineyard, and had not eaten of it, or had betrothed a wife, and had not taken her, or was timorous and fainthearted, he might return home.* These privileges were allowed only in wars that were made voluntarily; the first is understood by the Jewish writers to signify a house that the man had not yet dwelt in, for no- Deut. xx. 5, 6, &c.

BOOK VI. thing of a religious consecration is here intended: at the first entrance into an house they made a feast, which being the first meal eaten in it, was called *chanach* or *dedication;* and because a year is allowed to a man to enjoy his wife before he is obliged to go to the wars, they indulge the same time in these other cases, as many have observed; and this they understand, not only of a new built house, but of a house newly come into a man's possession, either by purchase, succession, or gift, yet not of such houses as were unfit for habitation.

Lev. xix. 23. Concerning the planting of a vineyard it must be observed, that no one could lawfully eat of the fruit of it for the three first years after it was planted, and in the fourth year the fruit of it was to be carried to Jerusalem and eaten there, after which the fruit of the fifth year was wholly the man's own, when it was no longer sacred, but common to every one's use. The man, as the Jews say, had liberty to return home, if he had made any other plantation wherein were fruit trees fit for food, if there were five of them planted together in good order. The reason for this and the foregoing privilege is given

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8. by Josephus, lest from a longing desire after these things they should be sparing of hazarding their lives, and reserving themselves for the enjoyment of them, not fight manfully; but many think this was a bare concession to such persons, who, if they could overcome their affection to all things but the love of their country, might remain in the camp and go to the battle. The law concerning a betrothed wife has been already explained; and what relates to the fearful and the fainthearted is referred by some writers to old soldiers, in whom that heat and vi-

gour which makes men valiant is quite abated; upon which account they would not admit one who had no children to go to war, (if we may believe Maimonides,) because he was not thought masculine enough, or rather because they would not cut off all hope of his having posterity. But there are those who understand this permission *of the terrors of an evil conscience*, for they did not admit of the practice that we follow in these days, (to send the wickedest villains into the wars,) but if they knew any man to be guilty of a great crime, they thrust him out of the army, lest they should all suffer upon his account. All these who were thus dismissed were bound, if required, to furnish the army with victuals and water, to clear the way, and to take up their quarters. CHAP. XLV. Schickard Jus Reg. c. 5. Theorem 18.

The soldiers among the Hebrews, when they were entered into the service, were trained up by proper officers in the art of war; the military exercises were such as were in use likewise among other nations. To be swift of foot was an accomplishment highly valued among warriors, the better to attack and pursue the enemy; and St. Jerome speaks of an old custom among the Jews that was practised in his time, to set their youth to lift great weights, to confirm their strength, and to prepare them for the fatigues of war. 2 Sam. ii. 18. In Zechari. xii. 3.

CHAP. XLVI.

Military weapons offensive and defensive; engines of battery.

THE warlike weapons of the Hebrews were either such as were to defend the persons that wore

BOOK VI. them, or such as were to hurt and incommode the enemy. Of the former sort, were first a helmet to cover and defend the head. This was part of the military provision which that warlike king Uzziah prepared for his vast army; and we read before this, that part of Saul's armour was a helmet of brass. It was used by the Philistines, for Goliath had *a helmet of brass upon his head.* And this martial cap for the head was worn by the Persians and Ethiopians when they fought.

2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

1 Sam. xvii. 38.

Another defensive piece of armour used in those early times was a breastplate or corslet; Goliath was accoutred with this defence, which we translate *a coat of mail.* This is mentioned among the Jewish armoury, and is called an *habergeon:* between the joints of this *harness* (for so we English it) king Ahab was casually struck with a dart. To this species of armour the prophet Isaiah alludes, where the same Hebrew word is used that is in the forementioned texts, but is here rendered *a breastplate;* and in Jeremiah a *brigandine* is our English word for it: so that according to what may be gathered from this various rendering of it, it seems to answer the cuirass, or corslet-armour, both for back and breast. It is likely that it was chiefly designed to defend this latter, and thence had its denomination. But some had it made so long, as to come over all their other clothes; which is the reason why in some places it is otherwise translated.

1 Sam. xvii. 5. Ezek. xxxviii. 5. 1 Sam. xvii. 5. 2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

Isai. lix. 17.

Jer. xlvi. 4.

The shield, to defend the whole body in time of battle, and to keep off the enemies' insults, which was either *tsinnah,* the great shield or buckler, or *magen,* the lesser kind of this weapon, was of great service in old times. It was frequent among the

Jews in their wars, and used by the Babylonians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians, and by the Egyptians. David, who was a great warrior, often mentions a shield and buckler in his divine poems, to signify that defence and protection of Heaven which he expected, which he experienced, and wholly trusted in. And when he says, *God will with favour compass the righteous as with a shield,* he seems to allude to the use of the great shield *tsinnah,* (which is the word he uses,) with which they covered and defended their whole bodies. King Solomon caused two different sorts of shields (the *tsinnah,* which answers to *clypeus* among the Latins, such a large shield as the infantry wore; and the *maginnim, scuta,* used by the horsemen, which were of a far less size) to be made. The former of these are translated *targets,* and are double in weight to the other. The Philistines came into the field with this weapon: so we find their formidable champion was appointed, one bearing a shield went before him, whose proper duty it was to carry this and some other weapons, with which to furnish his master upon occasion.

Psalm v. 12.

2 Chron. ix. 15, 16.

1 Sam. xvii. 7.

A shield-bearer was an office among the Jews as well as the Philistines; for David when he first went to court was made king Saul's armourbearer, and Jonathan had a young man who bore his armour before him. Besides this *tsinnah,* this great massy shield, Goliath was furnished with a less one, which is not expressed by one of the forementioned words, but is called *cidon,* which we render a *target* in one place, and a *shield* in another, and was of a different nature from the common shields, and, as I conceive, was not only to hold in his hand when he had occasion to use it, but could also conveniently at other

1 Sam. xvi. 21.

1 Sam. xiv. 1.

1 Sam. xvii. 6 & 45.

BOOK VI. times be hung about his neck and turned behind, wherefore it is added, that *it was between his shoulders.* This target as well as his helmet, and some other pieces of his armour, were of brass, which was the usual metal with which their arms were made in those times. The loss of the shield in fight was excessively resented by the Jewish warriors, as well as condoled by them, for it was a signal ingredient of the public mourning that *the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away.* David, a man of arms, who composed the funeral song upon the death of Saul, was sensible how disgraceful a thing it was for soldiers to quit their shields in the field; yet this was the sad and deplorable case of the Jewish soldiers in that unhappy engagement with the Philistines, they fled away, and left their shields behind them: this vile and dishonourable casting away of that principal armour is the deserved subject of this lofty poet's lamentation.

2 Sam. i. 21.

1 Sam. xxxi. 7.

It may be further observed, that their shields were used to be oiled, scoured, and polished, as indeed it was the custom to be equally careful of their other armour, as may be gathered from the expressions of the prophets, of *furbishing the spears and making bright the arrows.* But more especially their shields; (which were weapons they highly valued, and upon which they generally engraved their names and warlike deeds, if they achieved any, whereas those that had none of these were called *blank-shields;*) these weapons were carefully polished with oil, and made exceeding bright; whence two places of scripture (if we give credit to some expositors) may receive some light; the former occurs in the chapter before cited, where it is said,

Jer. xlvi. 4. & li. 11.

CHAP. XLVI.

The shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as if it had not been anointed with oil. For so the latter clause may be understood to refer to the shield and not to Saul, and the Hebrew text will bear this version. The meaning then is, (according to this construction, which the reader is to judge of,) the shields were cast away and trodden under foot, as if they had not been made bright with oil, as if there had not been that care taken about them. And that other passage of the prophet, *anoint the shield,* is a plain reference to this ancient custom of polishing their shields with oil; and therefore the import of these words is this, "Furbish and "make ready that weapon, and prepare for battle:" it might be further observed, that as they anointed their shields to give them a brightness and lustre, so they covered them with a case when they used them not, to preserve them from being rusty and soiled; thence we read of *uncovering the shield;* which signifies preparing for war, and having that weapon especially in readiness.

Isaiah xxi. 5.

Isaiah xxii. 6.

Another defensive provision in war was the military girdle, which was for a double end; first, in order to the wearing the sword, for this hung as it does this day at the soldier's girdle or belt. Secondly, it was necessary to gird their clothes and armour together; thus David girded his sword upon his armour. To *gird* and to *arm* are synonymous words in scripture; for those that are said *to be able to put on armour,* are, according to the Hebrew and the Septuagint, *girt with a girdle,* and from hence comes the expression of *girding to the battle.* There is express mention of this *warlike girdle;* where it is recorded, that Jonathan, to assure David

1 Sam. xvii. 39.

1 Kings xx. 11. Isa. viii. 9. 2 Sam. xxii. 40.

1 Sam. xviii. 4.

BOOK VI. of his entire love and friendship by some visible pledges, stript himself not only of his usual garments, but his military habiliments, *his sword, bow, and girdle, and gave them to David.*

Boots were part of their defensive harness of old, because it was the custom to cast certain ἐμπόδια, "impediments," (so called, because they entangled the feet,) afterwards known by the name of *gall-traps*, which since, in heraldry, are corruptly called *caltrops*,) in the way before the enemy; the military boot or shoe was therefore necessary to guard the legs and feet from the iron stakes, placed in the way to gall and wound them; and thus are accounted for Goliath's *greaves of brass upon his legs.*

Offensive weapons are either such as they made use of when they came to a close engagement, or when they were at a distance. Of the former sort were the sword *chereb*, and the battle-axe *mapheng*. The first of these is the ancientest piece of armour
Gen. xxxiv. 25. that we read of, (except the bow, of which afterwards,) for we find it was treacherously handled by Jacob's sons, when they invaded the Shechemites, and it was likewise used by the Israelites in the wilderness. If it be inquired how they furnished themselves with this and other weapons in that place, since, as it is generally said, they left Egypt without taking any arms with them; there is no occasion to answer as some do, that the great winds and tide, upon the return of the Red sea, beat the Egyptians' arms upon the shore, where the Israelites had pitched their tents; for this is more than can be proved; and so indeed is their supposal that the Israelites came unarmed out of Egypt, for the con-

trary plainly appears; *the children of Israel went up harnessed,* that is, *girt* or *armed, out of the land of Egypt;* and then it is no wonder that we read of their being armed in the wilderness. This may be meant when it is said, *they borrowed of the Egyptians raiment,* in which may be included military habits; however, they are comprehended in what follows, *The Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them whatever they required, and they spoiled the Egyptians.* The Israelites left Egypt not only with leave, but with the consent of the inhabitants; for the last plague, which slew all their firstborn in one night, put them upon hurrying them away, and to be rid of them they were willing to part with any thing; and accordingly, they not only suffered them to carry off their own goods and cattle, but gave them a great deal of gold and silver, and all sorts of rich materials, with which afterwards they furnished the tabernacle; and among other things, they doubtless carried with them weapons of war, for they who willingly lent them jewels would scarce deny them armour.

CHAP. XLVI.

Exod. xiii. 18.

Exod. xii. 35.

Exod. iii. 22.

The battle-axe, mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, was another weapon which they anciently fought with when they came to a close engagement: we have no particular account of this martial implement, but it is reasonable to believe that it was a weighty weapon, or hammer, made use of when there was occasion to break asunder any hard thing that stood in their way, and to beat down the enemies, and lay them prostrate, and to bruise and batter their armour. It is likely it was a sort of poll-axe, but proper to the cavalry; which I gather from

Jerem. li. 20–23.

BOOK VI. the following verse, which speaks of *breaking in pieces with it the horse and his rider, and the chariot and his rider.*

The weapons offensive, to wound and hurt the enemy at some distance, were the spear or javelin, which were of different kinds, according to their length and make. Some of them might be thrown or darted, others were a sort of long swords; and some of them were piked, or pointed at both ends.

1 Sam. xviii. 11.

Numb. xxv. 8.

2 Sam. ii. 23.

A sling, with which they slung stones at the enemy, is reckoned a part of warlike provision, and David made use of one of these to a good purpose, when he slew the giant of Gath. The Benjamites (but properly the Benjaminites) were famous in battle, because they had attained to a great skill and accuracy in handling this weapon; *they could sling stones to a hair's breadth, and not miss;* and whereas it is said they were *left handed,* it should rather be rendered *ambodexters,* for we are told they could use *both the right hand and the left;* that is, they did not constantly use their right hand as others did, when they shot arrows, or slung stones, but they were so expert in their military exercises, that they could perform them with their left hand as well as with their right.

2 Chron. xxvi. 14.

Judges xx. 16.

1 Chron. xii. 2.

Bows and arrows are of great antiquity; indeed no weapon is mentioned so soon; *Take thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow;* though it is true, these are not spoken of as used in war, but in hunting, and so they are supposed and implied before this, where it is said of Ishmael, that he *became an archer;* he used bows and arrows in shooting of wild beasts. This afterwards became so useful a weapon, that care was taken to train up the Hebrew youth to it betimes.

Gen. xxvii. 3.

Gen. xxi. 20.

When David had in a solemn manner lamented the death of king Saul, he gave orders for teaching the young men *the use of the bow*, that they might be as expert as the Philistines; by whose bows and arrows Saul and his army were slain. These were part of the military ammunition, (for in those times bows were instead of guns, and arrows supplied the place of powder and ball.) From Job it may be collected, that the warlike bow was made of steel, and consequently was very stiff and hard to bend, wherefore they used their foot in bending their bows; and therefore, when the prophets speak of *treading the bow*, and of *bows trodden*, they are to be understood of *bows bent*, as our translators rightly render it; but the Hebrew word which is used in these places signifies *to tread upon*. This weapon was thought so necessary in war, that it is there called *the bow of war*, or the *battle-bow*.

2 Sam. i. 18.

Job xx. 24.

Jerem. l. 14.

Isa. v. 28. xxi. 15.

Zech. ix. 10. x. 4.

It was common in the eastern countries to fight in open chariots, or war-coaches, and without doubt the chariots of Pharaoh were of this kind, with which he pursued the Israelites; for he *appointed captains over them*, which proves that they were fighting chariots: about fifty years afterwards, we find this military vehicle among the Canaanites, who used them in that champaign country, and struck such terror to the Hebrews, that made them despair of conquering that part of the nation.

Exod. xiv. 7.

Josh. xvii. 16. 18.

We learn from the scriptures, that when they were besieged of old, they made use of *engines on their towers, and bulwarks to shoot arrows and stones withal*, and when they set down before a place, and resolved to besiege it, they *dug trenches*, they drew a line of *circumvallation*, they made *ram-*

2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

1 Sam. xvii. 20.

BOOK VI. *parts*, they built *forts against it, and cast a mount*
Lam. ii. 8. Ezek. iv. 2. *against it; and set the camp also against it, and set battering rams also against it round about.*
Jer. vi. 6. These engines of *shot* (as our margin renders it, in the prophecy of Jeremiah) without doubt resembled in some measure the *balistæ* and *catapultæ* among the Romans; which were used for throwing stones and arrows; and were to them of old instead of mortars and carcasses. I might observe, that to give notice of an approaching enemy, and to bring the dispersed inhabitants of the country together, they used to set up beacons on the tops of mountains, as a proper alarm upon those occasions. "King Uz-
Antiq. lib. ix. c. 12. "ziah," says Josephus, "taught his soldiers to march "in a battalia, (after the manner of the Macedonian "phalanx,) arming each of them with swords, tar-"gets, and corslets of brass, with arrows and darts. "He also made great provision of engines, to batter "cities, and to shoot stones and darts; besides "hooks of different fashions, and other such like "instruments."

Deut. xx. 19. There is a law which expressly forbids the cutting down of fruit trees, in order *to employ them in a*
Schickard Jus Reg. l. c. 1. *siege;* not but, say the rabbins, such trees might be cut down, in order to shorten the siege, if the enemy made advantage of them, for their archers to shelter themselves behind; and if they brought no fruit, or if the fruit would not be so profitable as the wood, for building and other uses, or if they hindered the growth of better trees, they might, say they, be destroyed in time of peace. Such as were not trees for meat might be cut down to raise bulwarks, or otherwise to distress the enemy; but not for the sake of waste and desolation only.

CHAP. XLVII.

The discipline of war. The ceremonies before and after the battle.

CHAP. XLVII.

IN the beginning of their republic, the armies of the Hebrews consisted all of foot; not that the use of horses was absolutely forbidden; for Solomon had a body of twelve thousand horse and fourteen hundred chariots, some with two, and others with four horses belonging to them; but whether they served for pomp or for war is uncertain: these chariots and horses were brought from Egypt, but not without paying a great toll; six hundred shekels for a chariot, and one hundred and fifty for a horse. This prince prevailed upon his father-in-law, the king of Egypt, to remit this tribute, upon payment of a certain sum of money by the year: by this means he got rid of the custom that was exacted from other nations, and his merchants could afford to sell chariots and horses to the Syrians at a lower price than they could have them out of Egypt.

1 Kings x. 26.

The soldiery was paid out of the king's treasury, and to incite their valour, there were rewards publicly bestowed upon such as had signalized themselves against the enemy: the military honours were such as these: a sum of money, a belt, a woman of quality for a wife, an exemption from taxes, a principal commission in the army; and other distinctions, attended with great profit and reputation.

2 Sam. xviii. 11. Jos. xv. 16. 1 Sam. xvii. 25. 1 Chron. xi. 6. Exod. xviii. 21.

The general was the commanding officer in the army; under him were tribunes, who had each the command of a thousand men; centurions, who commanded a hundred, were the next; they had under them commanders over fifties; and the last com-

BOOK VI. manded over ten: there was a secretary of war, who took an account of the number of the forces, and heralds, to send off messages, to declare war, and to treat of peace. The Hebrews made use of spies, to inquire into the state of the enemy, and were not unacquainted with stratagems of war, by which they got many victories.

2 Chron. xxvi. 11. Judg. xi. 12.

It has been observed, that before they invested a city, they were obliged to offer conditions; if they were refused, they did not begirt it all round, but only on three sides, leaving one naked, that the besieged might fly away if they pleased, by which means effusion of human blood was prevented; but this privilege was not allowed to the Amalekites, and the seven nations of Canaan. A siege, say the Jewish doctors, must be begun three days before the sabbath, and then it may be continued every day, even upon the sabbath, till the city be taken; and this may be done in a war that is engaged in voluntarily; agreeable to this, in some measure, is what Kimchi remarks of the siege of Jericho, "The ark "of the Lord compassed the city the first time, upon "the first day of the week. So our doctors of pious "memory have delivered, that the seventh day "whereon the city was taken was the sabbath, "though they killed and burnt upon that day; for "he that commanded the sabbath to be observed, "commanded it now to be profaned, for the destruc-"tion of Jericho." If the peace that was offered was accepted, the league was ratified by a solemn oath on both sides. Whether the ceremony of dividing a heifer, and both sides passing between the parts of it, was in use, is uncertain, though the prophet Jeremiah speaks something of this rite, when he charges

Hilkoth Schabbath.

In Josh. vi. 15.

Gen. xv. 10.

the princes of Judah and Jerusalem with violating the covenant which they made before God, when *they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof.* CHAP. XLVII. Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19.

When a peace was concluded, it was publicly proclaimed by order of the magistrates: they sent heralds or criers upon the top of all the hills, who made proclamation, which being carried from one to another, notice was soon given to all the country about; and this might conveniently be done, the rising grounds being many, and the valleys of a small extent. Arias Montanus in Nahum i.

Before they engaged in battle, the law of Moses appointed two priests to blow with two silver trumpets, which are described by Josephus to have been a cubit long, and narrow like a pipe, but wider, as ours are, at the bottom; no more than two were at first ordered for present use, but more were afterwards made, when the priests and the people were increased. There were others, called *trumpets of rams' horns,* (from their shape, I suppose,) which were used in war, to incite the soldiers to fight. These instruments were blown to call the people to the sanctuary to pay their devotion, and to pray to God before they engaged; and they were sounded with a particular blast, that they might know the meaning of the summons; then the anointed for the war, going from one battalion to another, was to exhort the soldiers (in the Hebrew language, and no other) to fight valiantly. The rabbins have a conceit, that the Romans learnt both the form of encamping out of the law of Moses, and also to make orations to their armies, before they went to fight; but it is more reasonable to think they taught Numb. x. 9. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 11. Josh. vi. 4. Deut. xx. 2. Misch. Sota. c. 8.

BOOK VI. those that were leaders of others, to encourage them
Josh. i. 10. to follow their example. There were officers whose duty it was to make proclamation, that those whose business it was should make sufficient provision for
Judges xx. 10. the army before they marched; and every tenth man was appointed for that purpose.

Exod. xv. 12, &c. When they gave the onset, they rushed upon their enemies with shoutings and cries, and after they had obtained the victory, they sung hymns and songs of triumph, and went in public procession with the women and children, dancing and playing upon musical instruments; and sometimes they erected a
1 Sam. xv. 12. triumphal arch (as St. Jerome observes of Saul, when he had overcome the Amalekites) of olive branches, myrtle, and palm, as a token of victory.
Grotius de Jure Bell. lib. iii. c. 6. The land that was subdued was divided by lots, and the crown of the conquered king was set upon the
2 Sam. xii. 30. conqueror, who had likewise assigned him, as we find in the Talmud, the furniture of the king's
Judges ix. 45. palace or pavilion as his share of the spoils. A city, after it was taken, they usually dismantled or laid waste, and sometimes sowed it with salt, not to make the place barren, (for the strewing it with salt could not destroy the natural fruitfulness of the soil,) but in token of hatred, as wishing that the city might continue unbuilt, and be a perpetual desolation.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The discipline of the Hebrews in their camps, and the form of their encampments.

Deut. xxiii. 9. A STRICT discipline, and an outward decency and purity, was observed in the camps of the Hebrews; if a soldier chanced to be unclean by a noc-

turnal pollution, which was no moral impurity, he was obliged to go out of the camp, lest by touching he should defile others, and continue excluded till the evening, when he was to wash himself all over, and after the sun was set he was admitted again; to the end, says Maimonides, that all should believe their camp ought to be as the sanctuary of God, where no man might enter in his uncleanness; and not like the camps of the Gentiles, where all manner of wickedness, filthiness, and rapine is freely practised. They were not allowed so much as to ease nature within the limits of the camp: this promoted cleanness, and contributed to the preservation of their health; and hereby, as the rabbins observe, they were distinguished from brute beasts, which commonly ease themselves before any body, and in any place: but Moses gives a much better reason, which has respect to the Divine majesty, dwelling between the cherubims over the ark which was carried with them in their wars; and therefore all uncleanness, though in itself natural, was to be removed far off. By such actions as these, Maimonides observes, God intended to confirm the strength and faith of the soldiers, that he dwelling among them would go along with them, and fight for them against their enemies; and Abarbanel remarks thus: The camps of the Israelites ought to be holy, having a special providence of God among them; for they do not make war by mere human power and courage, but by the power of God and of his Spirit, on which they depend for deliverance from all evil, and for victory over their enemies. The place for this evacuation was to be at some distance from the camp, and every soldier was to have a paddle of

CHAP. XLVIII.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 61.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 41.

In Deut. xxiii. 14.

BOOK VI. iron to fix upon the end of his sword, which would dig a hole in the ground; this he was to fill again when his purpose was served, that there might be no appearance nor scent of it remaining. The Jews will have it, that they were to accustom themselves to do this business in the morning as soon as they
Part i. c. 6. were up, and thus (as Leo of Modena tells us in his history of them) the Jews do at this day, afterwards washing their hands, that they may go clean to their devotions. In this matter, as I have remarked, the Essenes were extremely superstitious; for, as Josephus relates, they would not ease themselves at all upon the sabbath, because they looked upon it as a labour to dig in the earth, and excrements not fit to be seen upon that day.

But many rites in the Levitical law were relaxed during the time of encampment; the soldiers were
Schickard Jus Reg. c. 5. allowed, say the rabbins, to use forbidden meats, even swine's flesh, to eat without washing their hands before meals, not to observe the severity of the sabbatical rest, to fetch wood where they could find it, to raise bulwarks and fortifications, and other privileges, which would have been penal, if not capital, in time of peace.

Numb. ii. 1, 2, &c. The disposition of the Hebrews' encampment was at first laid out by God himself; every family and household had their particular ensigns, besides the great banner under which they encamped and marched, it being pitched and carried in the midst of them. How these banners and ensigns were distinguished one from another we have no certain knowledge. The later Jews say, particularly Aben
In loc. super. Ezra, that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man, Ephraim

of an ox, and Dan of an eagle, for which there is no manner of foundation; for though Judah be compared to a lion, yet the reasons he gives for the other are very absurd, with which I shall not trouble the reader; but only observe, that there is not one word of any such thing in their ancient writers, no not in the whole body of the Talmud; and it is not likely that they who had so lately smarted for making the golden calf would adventure to make any other images, and expose them to the eyes of all the people. Nor is it impertinent to observe, that when Vitellius in after-ages was to march against the Arabians through Judæa, the great men of the nation met him, and beseeched him to march another way, the law of their country not allowing images (such as were in the Roman ensigns) to be brought into it; for which one can see no reason, if their ancestors in the wilderness had by the command or allowance of Moses carried an eagle in any of their standards. It is more probable, if there be room for conjecture in this matter, that the name of Judah might be embroidered in great letters in his standard, and Reuben in his, and so of the rest, or they were distinguished by their colours only, as now our regiments are.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 7.

The camp of Israel, called *the army of God*, was of a quadrangular form, surrounded, say the Jews, with an enclosure of the height of ten hands' breadth, to prevent the soldiers from flying from their colours. It was not a regular square, for the court of the tabernacle being in the midst of the camp, and the sides of that being unequal, those towards the east and west of no more than fifty cubits' length, but those towards the north and south of the length of a hun-

Mischna Erubim, cap. 1.

BOOK VI. dred cubits, it made the encampment about it also unequal. The distance of the camp from the tabernacle is reasonably judged to have been about two thousand cubits; at the east end were the tribes of Issachar, Judah, and Zabulon; at the west were Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin; at the north were Aser, Dan, and Naphtali; at the south were Simeon, Reuben, and Gad. This camp, say the Jews, made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle. Within this was another, called *the camp of the Levites;* they were divided into three families, the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites; the first guarded the west end of the tabernacle, the second stood on the south side, and the third was placed towards the north. Eastward was the station of Moses and Aaron, and their families, who lay between the standard of Judah and the tabernacle; which was the honourable post, where the priests were with great reason placed, together with Moses, the chief governor, because they were to guard the holy place, that none might go into it but themselves. When the camp was to move, the priests were to sound four alarms with the silver trumpets, but in what order they marched has been described in another part of these Antiquities. The tents they lived under were much the same as are now in use, as may be collected from a passage in Isaiah; *Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes.*

Numb. iii. 17, 18, &c.

Numb. x. 5.

Vol. i. b. 3. c. 7.

Ch. liv. 2.

CHAP. XLIX.

The dividing of the spoils. Purifications observed after the battle.

THE practice of the Hebrews concerning the division of what they had taken in war was not always the same; but before this distribution be inquired into, it may be observed, that what they took was commonly of three kinds, the persons of their enemies called *captives*, the beasts called *the prey*, and money and goods called *the spoil*. Every thing that breathed, that belonged to the seven nations of Canaan, and to the Amalekites, was to be destroyed; if they were not of the seven nations, the men were to be cut off, but the women and the little ones, the prey and the spoil, they might keep for themselves; yet this rule was not always followed; for after a victory over the Midianites, the Hebrews were commanded to kill all the males, and the women that had known man, but the virgins they were allowed to keep alive for their own use, either to be sold as slaves to any other nation, or to be kept as servants, or taken to be their wives after such preparation as the law required. CHAP. XLIX. Numb. xxxi. 16, 17, &c.

The whole army that went out to war were to stay without seven days before they were admitted into the camp, and such as had had their hands in blood, or had touched a dead body, though killed by another, were to be purified on the third and on the seventh day by the water of separation. All spoil of garments, or other things that they had taken, were to be purified in the same manner, or to be washed in running water, as the method was in other cases. All sorts of metals had, besides sprinkling with the Levit. xi. 32, 33.

BOOK VI. water of separation, a purification by fire, and what would not bear the fire passed through the water, before it could be applied to use.

In the distribution, the king had anciently the
Gen. xiv. 20. tenth part of what was taken, but in following times, say the Talmudists, he had all the gold and silver, and things of value, and half of the rest of the prey, that was divided between him and the people.
Numb. xxxi. 27. What was taken from the Midianites was divided, by Divine appointment, into two parts; the army that won the victory had one, and those that stayed at home had the other, because it was a common cause in which they engaged, and the rest were as ready to fight as those that went out to battle; this division was by a special direction, but was not the rule in after-ages; for after the general had taken what he pleased for himself, the rest was divided
1 Sam. xxx. 24. among the soldiers, as well those who kept the baggage, or were disabled by wounds or weariness, as those who were engaged in the fight, but the people had no share; and this was ordained as a statute to be observed throughout their generations: but in the time of the Maccabees, the Jewish army thought fit to recede from the strictness of this military law; for when they had obtained a victory over Nicanor un-
2 Maccab. viii. 28, 30. der the conduct of Judas, they divided *among themselves many spoils, and made the maimed, orphans, widows, yea and the aged also equal in spoils with themselves.*

Num. xxxi. 28, 29, &c. In the Midianitish war, after the distribution of the spoils among the army and the people, there was another division made for the service of the priesthood and the Levitical ministry. The priests out of the share that fell to the army were allotted one

out of five hundred of all the women and children and cattle that were taken, and the Levites from the part that fell to the people received one out of fifty, so that the priests had just a tenth part of what was allowed to the Levites, as they had a tenth part of the Levitical tithes, which was paid them for their constant support; but whether this was the practice in future wars is uncertain. Sometimes all the spoils were by Divine appointment ordered to be destroyed; and there is an instance in the siege of Jericho, when all the silver and the gold, (except the gold and the silver of their images, which were to be consumed utterly,) and vessels of brass and iron, were devoted to God, and appropriated to his service. They were to be brought into the treasury which was in the tabernacle, after they were purified by making them pass through the fire according to the law; the Jews conceive that these spoils (called in scripture *the accursed thing*, on the account of their being devoted with a curse upon him who should take them for his own use) were given to God, because the city was taken upon the sabbath day.

CHAP. XLIX.

Deut. vii. 25, 26.

Josh. vi. 18.

CHAP. L.

The rites of burial among the Hebrews. The method of embalming, shrouding, laying out, and bearing the dead.

THE funeral rites among the Hebrews were solemn and magnificent; when a man was dying, his near relations, especially his children, attended upon him, to whom he gave good counsel concerning their future conduct, together with his blessing

Gen. xlix. 2.

BOOK VI. before his departure; for it was an ancient opinion, that the souls of all excellent men, the nearer they approached their end, the more divine they grew, and had a clearer prospect of things to come. The practice among the more modern Jews was, to send ten persons with a rabbi, before whom the sick man repeats the confession of his sins, which is composed in an alphabetical order, each letter of the alphabet containing one of the sins that are usually committed. As this confession is only made for the ignorant and for common use, those that have a more lively sense of their faults, and a more comprehensive knowledge, enter into the particulars of their sins, after the manner of penitent Christians. The sick person also prays God to restore him his health, or to take care of his soul, and especially he begs that death may serve for an expiation. His friends go to the synagogue to pray to God for the sick under another name, to signify that he had changed his life.

Those that continue in the chamber wait the moment when the soul must separate from the body and leave the earth; they made it a particular piece of devotion to be present; and they thought to reap great benefit by it, especially when it was a person eminent for his learning and piety; the next relations kiss the dying person, and this use is very ancient; for Philo, relating Jacob's complaint upon the unex-
Gen. l. 1. pected death of his son, makes him say, that he shall not have the comfort of closing his eyes, and giving him the last kiss; this was the last farewell and sign of affection given to those that left the world; and this practice was dispersed among the heathens, who pleased themselves with receiving the last breath of

persons that were dear to them, and this they called *the soul of the dying.* CHAP. L.

They had such a veneration for the book of the law, that they would not allow it to be laid upon the bed of a person leaving the world, lest it should be polluted by touching the dead. Talm. Bava Kama, p. 17.

The first thing after one expired, was to close his eyes, (which was performed likewise among Greeks and Romans,) by the nearest relations or the dearest friends. Then did the company rend their clothes, which was a custom of great antiquity, and the highest instance of mourning in the earliest ages: this practice was never omitted by the Hebrews upon sorrowful events; but was so particularly used for the dead, that it was forbidden to the high priest, who never tore his robe but out of zeal when he heard blasphemy: at present there is but a faint imitation of this ancient custom, for the Jews only cut some part of their garment, to shew they are afflicted. It is pretended that there is another old use; which is, to throw all the water into the street that is found in the house and in the neighbourhood, but it is peculiar to the modern Jews, and we do not find it was practised by the ancients. The design is, to give notice that there is a person dead in that place, that he may be regretted and lamented; and this is what is found in antiquity; for God threatened Jehoiakim as with a terrible curse, that nobody should lament him at the hour of his death. Gen. xlvi. 4. Menoch de Rep. Heb. lib. viii. c. 4. Quest. 11. Gen. xxxvii. 34. Jer. xxii. 18.

The management of the dead, says Maimonides, among the Israelites, is thus: they close the eyes of the deceased, and if the mouth gapes, they bind up the jaws; they stop up the passages of the body Hal. Ebbel. c. 4.

BOOK VI. after they have cleaned away the excrements by pressing the belly, and then they anoint it with various kinds of spices and perfumes. After death, they lay out the body upon a cloth on the earth, with the face covered, it being no longer lawful to see it: and, says a book of the Jewish Rituals, they bend the thumb into the hand, which they tie with the strings of his *thaled*, because the thumb having the figure of the name of God, *Schaddai*, the Devil dares no more come near it; the rest of the hand remains open, to signify that he abandons all; whereas children come into the world with their hands closed, to shew, say they, that God has put all the riches of the earth into their hands. Then was the body washed, which is a custom difficult to give a reason of; the notion of the Jews is, that the body ought to appear clean before God. But it is a more probable conjecture, that the ointments and perfumes might more easily enter into the pores when they were opened by warm water; the women performed this office, which was always esteemed an act of great charity and devotion.

Minhagim. cap. ult.

Gen. l. 2. Diod. lib. i. sect. 2. Herodot. Enterpe, c. 86, 87, &c.

The Hebrews formerly embalmed the bodies of their dead; for Joseph, after he had fallen upon his father and kissed him, commanded his servants the physicians to embalm him, and this agrees with what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus relate, that there were those in Egypt who professed the art of preserving bodies from corruption, in which they excelled all other people, bodies of their embalming remaining whole unto this day, and are often brought into these countries. The authors above mentioned give an account of the different prices at which this operation was performed, and tell us there were

three rates, according to the cost that men would bestow upon their friends. Upon the first rank of funerals they expended a talent of silver, the second cost about twenty pound, about the third they made but small expense. The manner of embalming was thus: they scooped out the brain with a bent iron, and threw in medicaments to fill up the vacuum; they also drew out the entrails; and having stuffed the body with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense, that were proper to dry up the humours, they pickled it in nitre, where it lay a soaking seventy days; longer than which, neither the bodies of the better nor of the meaner sort were to be salted. After that, they were wrapt up in bandages of fine linen and gums, to make it stick like glue, and so they delivered the body to the kindred of the deceased entire in all its features, the very hairs of the eyelids being preserved. The kings of Judah were for many ages embalmed, and after the manner of the old Egyptians had spices and perfumes burnt before them at their funerals, and, as Kimchi observes, they burnt the bed on which they lay, and other householdstuff, that none might have the honour to use them when they are gone. Private persons, as well as kings, were at prodigious expenses upon this account, and if we may believe what the Jews say, when Gamaliel, the son of Simeon, the grandchild of Hillel, (at whose feet St. Paul sat,) was buried, Onkelos burnt seventy pound of frankincense on his sepulchre; but this is a fable invented to raise the credit of the Targum of Onkelos, which, say some, was not known till many ages after. The best of the Jews believe this burning of sweet spices and woods was first intended

CHAP. L.

2 Chron. xvi. 14. in locum.

In Jucha-sin.

BOOK VI. merely to prevent the offence which the smell of dead bodies might possibly sometimes give, but the vanity of particular persons often made them exceed beyond necessity. This practice is still kept up in the East, where perfumes are more common and not so dear, but in Italy the Jews are contented to put dry roses and camomile in the water which they use to wash the dead body.

When the body is washed it is shrouded, the head is bound about with a napkin, and the body is swathed with a linen cloth, though in most places they only put on a pair of drawers and a white shift. Abarbanel affirms that Samuel was buried with the cloke wherewith he covered himself as a prophet, but this conjecture is only founded upon the sorcery of the Pythoness, who shewed Saul Samuel's apparition with his mantle, which is much suspected. Others say, that they sumptuously apparelled the dead, and that the funeral expenses grew so excessive, that they were sometimes forced to fly and abandon the corpse; but Gamaliel the old restrained this abuse by ordering them only to cover their dead body with a linen cloth, without any distinction of conditions, which was executed. They wrapped them up with fillets, as is observed in the Egyptian mummies, and this reformation of the doctor's was approved, his own body was buried without pomp, and the nation followed his example.

R. Saadia in Sephur Hemunoth.

There is a controversy among the rabbins about the kind of habits that are put upon the dead; some are persuaded that they may bury them in a cloth mingled with wool, thread, or silk; it would be a crime in the living to wear such, because they are

forbidden by the law, but they believe that death dispenses with its observation; and they add the words of David, who complained that he was *free among the dead;* others maintain, that if it be lawful to clothe the dead with linsey-woolsey habits, it can only be for the time they are exposed in the coffins, and that they must be divested of them when they are carried to the grave. The devout cause themselves to be buried in the clothes they wore in their lifetime. Some add to the habit, or to the shift, a kind of rochet of very fine linen; they put the *thaled* over it, and a white cap upon the head. CHAP. L. Ps. lxxxviii. 5.

The body was exposed for some time before it was carried to the grave, and a candle was placed at the head which always burns. Some have imagined that this light was ordered to enlighten the soul that returns to visit the body, and to facilitate its entrance; but the Jews reject this accusation, and say, that this very ancient custom among them was established only to ridicule the sorcerers, who maintained, that the lighting a wax candle near the dead body was sufficient to cause violent pains in the separate soul.

Then he was placed in the coffin, which was formerly a kind of bed, so made that the body laid upon it might be easily carried. The history of the kings tell us, that Asa being dead, they *laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours.* Josephus, describing the funeral of Herod the Great, says, that his bed was adorned with precious stones, that his body rested under a purple covering, that he had a diadem and a crown of gold upon his head, a sceptre in his hand, and that all his house followed 2 Chron. xvi. 14. De Bell. lib. i. c. 21.

BOOK VI. the bed. About the bier were his sons and relations; and the guards of Thracians, Germans, and Gauls went before in order, as if they were going to the wars; the rest of the soldiers followed their captains and leaders, and five hundred servants carried perfumes. He was borne upon the shoulders of the prime nobility of Israel, with slow and solemn pomp into the castle called *Herodion*, where, according to his own appointment, he was interred. The ceremony of carrying out the corpse of private persons is thus described by Maimonides: they bear the dead upon their shoulders till they come to the place of sepulture, and the bearers are not allowed to be shod with sandals, lest a latchet should break, and so the solemnity of the procession be interrupted; they dig a cave in the earth, and they make a hollow in the side of it, and there they bury the dead with his face upwards; they use coffins of wood, and those who attend upon the funeral solemnly pronounce, "Go in "peace." One corpse is never placed upon another, nor do they bury two at one time; but an infant is allowed to be buried with its mother. No part of the dead could be applied to any use except the hair, which is an excrescence, and no integral part of the body; nor was any linen, or cloth, or vessels, that were used about the dead, to be preserved for common purposes, but to be carried with him or given to the poor; a corpse once buried is never to be removed.

Josipp. m. p. 124.

Cap. 4. Efel. sect. 2.

CHAP. LI.

Music used at funerals. Concerning the body of Adam; places of burial.

AMONG the Jews, the time of burial is in the daytime; the nearest friends and relations follow the dead body, which is usually carried in procession through the streets and public places. It is unlawful (says a learned rabbi) by our constitutions for the king to accompany a dead corpse to the grave, but he might mourn at home, though David thought fit to follow the bier when Abner was buried; but this, says another famous writer among them, Mikotzi, was indifferent; the king might do as David did if he pleased, who to purge himself from all suspicion of being concerned in the death of Abner, and to shew his extreme grief upon the occasion, attended the solemnity, and did him that public honour. CHAP. LI. Sanhedrin. cap. 2. sect. 13. 2 Sam. iii. 31.

It was accounted the highest instance of respect to lament the dead, for which purpose, in the later times of their republic, they hired persons who dolefully played upon musical instruments, a custom borrowed from the rites and manners of the Gentiles; for the old practice was to begin the lamentation with the voices of old women, who in a sad modulation strove to extort sorrow from those that were present; and this ceremony, it seems, the children in the street were used to act and imitate. When music was introduced at funerals, the trumpet was used for persons of quality, and the small pipe or flute for those of ordinary rank, and, says Maimonides, the poorest among the Israelites ought to be mourned for with two pipes and one lamenting woman; but if he be rich, let all things be done ac- Matth. ix. 23. Hefel. c. 4.

BOOK VI. cording to his degree. Besides the musicians, there were men and women hired for the purpose, which were paid and procured by the heir of the deceased, unless upon his deathbed he had given express orders to the contrary. When they came to the grave, and laid the corpse there, it was the custom to make great and loud lamentations, which are sometimes called *howlings* in the prophetical language. In some places they carried lighted torches with the corpse, but it does not appear from any passage of scripture that the ancient Jews carried torches in their funerals in the daytime, and those that cite Josephus for their voucher, as if he had lighted lamps and fires at Herod the Great's funeral, are mistaken; for the historian makes no mention of it.

There is a most curious collection of traditions, to be found in the works of the most learned Mr. John Gregory, concerning the body of Adam, and the manner of the funeral: you must know, says he, that it is a most confessed tradition among the eastern men, (and St. Ephraim himself is very principal in the authority,) that Adam was commanded by God, and left the same in charge to his posterity, that his dead body should be kept above ground till the fulness of time should come, to commit it to the middle of the earth, by a priest of the most high God; for Adam prophesied this reason for it, that there should be a redeemer of him and all his posterity. The priest that was to officiate at this funeral, they say, was Melchizedek, and that he buried his body at Salem, which might very well be the middle of the habitable world as then, and indeed it was so afterwards. Therefore, as they say, this body of Adam was embalmed, and was transmitted

Page 120. 4th edit.

from father to son by a reverend and religious way of conveyance, till at last it was delivered up by Lamech into the hands of Noah, who being well advised of that fashion of the old world, which was to worship God toward a certain place; and considering with himself that this could not be towards the right, (which was the east,) under the inconstancy and inconvenience of a ship, appointed out the middle of the ark for the place of prayer, and made it as holy as he could, by the reverend presence of Adam's body. Towards this place, the following prayer was said, not as terminating the least part of divine worship in the body, (it were a stupid thing to think so,) but (where it ought to be, and where all worshippers do, or should do so) in God himself, and only him, as the tradition distinctly clears the case. So soon as ever the day began to break, Noah stood up towards the body of Adam, and before the Lord he and his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, prayed, "O Lord, excellent art thou in thy truth, Catena Arab. c. 25. fol. 56. 6. "and there is nothing great in comparison of thee; "look upon us with the eye of mercy and compas- "sion, deliver us from this deluge of water, and set "our feet in a larger room; by the sorrows of Adam, "the first made man, by the blood of Abel, thy holy "one, by the righteousness of Seth, in whom thou "art well pleased; number us not among those who "have transgressed thy statutes, but take us into thy "merciful care, for thou art our deliverer; and thine "is the praise from all the works of thy hand, for "evermore." The sons of Noah, and the women, answered from another part of the ark, (which shews the antiquity of the custom of the sitting of women apart from the men in the houses of God,) "Amen,

CHAP. LI.

BOOK VI. "Lord." The blood of Abel, it seems, was so holy and reverend a thing, in the sense and reputation of the old world, that the men at that time used to swear by it. The learned Mr. Selden observes, that the Sethians took a solemn oath upon the blood of Abel, that they would not go down from their holy mountain into the plain of the Cainites. But enough has been said upon this subject.

It is certain that there was no such custom among the ancient Hebrews as burning the bodies of the dead; notwithstanding we read that the bodies of Saul and of his sons were burnt, which is supposed to have been done by the Benjamites, out of an affectation of singularity, and in compliance with the superstition of the Gentiles. The practice from the beginning was to bury their dead, and their common cemeteries were in public places, as they are with us, but generally of a considerable distance without the cities. The Talmudical writers, says Cunæus, allow this privilege to Jerusalem above other towns of Judæa, that no house in the city after one year could be retained by the buyer: it was not lawful to plant orchards or gardens there; dead bodies which were carried any where, were not admitted into the city, out of respect to the holiness of the place; only two sepulchres were there, of the house of David, and of Huldah the prophetess, built, they say, by the old prophets: yet were the Levites bound up by a more strict religion, being prohibited to bury their dead in their cities, and in the field of the suburbs too; wherefore, by Divine appointment, they received from the other tribes a parcel of ground without their own borders, where they might lay the bones of their dead to rest. In other towns

1 Sam. xxxi. 12.

Geierus, de Ebr. luctu, cap. 5.

De Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 7.

it was not unlawful to bury, provided seven honest men consented to it; but when once the corpse was carried out of the gate, it could not be received again within the walls, though all the people should desire it. CHAP. LI.

CHAP. LII.

Sepulchres of the Hebrews, particularly of the Hebrew kings.

THE most noble sepulchres were hewn out of some rock, with great art and expense; they are thus described by the Jewish writers: to those that entered the sepulchral cave, and carried the bier, there was a floor where they stood and set down the bier, in order to let the body down into the sepulchre. The floor within the entrance consists of a square, according to the dimensions of the bier, and of them that bear it; the cave contains thirteen sepulchres, four on each side, and three before, one on the right hand of the door, and another on the left; and the sepulchres were in a hollowed place, deeper than the floor by four cubits.

The cave of Machpelah, bought by Abraham for a burying-place, has given great trouble to expositors; for though it be the most probable conjecture, that it was the proper name of a place, yet the Talmudists generally conceive the word to signify (as the vulgar Latin also, with the Seventy, understand it) *a double cave;* yet they cannot agree in what sense it was so, whether they went through one cave into another, or there was one above another; for by a cave is certainly meant a vault arched over with stones or wood, and was the same with the Gen. xxiii. 9.

BOOK VI. cryptæ of the ancients. Benjamin of Tudela, in his Itinerary, relates, that being in a valley near Hebron, he found this double cave, of which he gives a description; Here, says he, is a temple that bears the name of Abraham, and was formerly a synagogue. The Christians have built six sepulchres, to which they have given the names of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebekah, of Jacob and Leah, and they shew them to travellers for money; but when a Jew comes there, the porter, when he is paid, opens an iron gate, which was made in the time of the patriarchs; the Jew enters in with a wax candle in his hand, passes the first and second cave without finding any thing, but in the third are the sepulchres of all the patriarchs, distinguished by their names: these tombs have a lamp continually burning by them: there are also great casks full of dry bones, because the Israelites continue to carry their dead bodies thither. At the end of the field of Machpelah is Abraham's house, and a fountain before it. Jacob had not an opportunity to carry his wife Rachel to this sepulchre of his fathers, and therefore he buried her in the highway of Bethlehem, and erected a pillar upon her grave as a monument, which continued for many ages. The Jew above mentioned relates, that five hundred paces from Bethlehem he saw Rachel's sepulchre, upon which was a pillar composed of twelve stones, with reference to Jacob's twelve children, which is covered with a vault, supported by four pillars, and all the Jews that travel thither engrave their names upon one of the twelve stones. It is certain the Hebrews anciently had their sepulchres upon great roads, to awaken the curiosity of the travellers, and keep up the

Itiner. p. 49.

memory of the dead; they have placed them likewise in gardens, and the more modern Jews at the entrance of their synagogues; or rather they have taken up a custom of building synagogues near the tombs of saints and great men: and here on their festivals the Jews meet in multitudes, and having read the history of their deliverance, they revel it out, just as the Christians do about the churches on the festivals of the saints to whose honour they were built. CHAP. LII.

The latter Jews have held strange conceits concerning the place of burials, and are persuaded that if an Israelite be buried in any strange country, out of the promised land, he shall not be a partaker so much as of the resurrection, except God vouchsafe to make hollow passages under the earth; through which his body, by a continual volutation and rolling, may be brought into the land of Canaan. The ground of this is taken from the charge of Jacob to his son Joseph, that he should not bury him in the land of Egypt, but in Canaan; for which charge they assign three reasons, first, because he foresaw by the spirit of prophecy that the dust of that land should be afterward turned into lice; secondly, because those who died out of the Holy Land would not rise again, without a pitiful rolling and tumbling of their bodies through these hollow passages; thirdly, lest he should be made an idol, and an object of false worship among the Egyptians. Solom. Jarchi. Gen. xlvii. 29.

The sepulchres of the Hebrew kings were exceeding grand and magnificent, and are supposed to be at present the only true remains of old Jerusalem that are to be seen by travellers. This royal burying-place discovers so great an expense, both of la-

BOOK VI. bour and treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings, and is generally ascribed to king Solomon: it lies now without the walls of Jerusalem, but it is probable was formerly within them, before that city was destroyed by the Romans. You approach it (says the judicious Mr. Maundrel, from his observations upon the spot) at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court is a portico nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of a natural rock: this had a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, (still discernible,) but by much time defaced. At the end of the portico on the left hand you descend to the passage into the sepulchres: the door is now obstructed with stones and rubbish, that it is something difficult to creep through it; but within, you arrive in a large fair room, about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of a piece of marble. From this room we passed into, I think, six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first of these, the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them.

Journey from Alep. to Jerus. edit. 4. p. 76.

In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone, placed in niches in the sides of the

chambers: they had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands, but now most of them were broke in pieces by sacrilegious hands. The sides and ceiling of the rooms were always dropping with moist damps condensing upon them, to remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fall constantly into it; but the most surprising thing belonging to these subterraneous chambers was their doors, of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpose to puzzle the beholders; it consisted of a plank of stone, about six inches in thickness, and in its other dimensions equally the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less; it was carved in such a manner as to resemble a piece of wainscot. The stone of which it was made was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock, and it turned upon two hinges, in the nature of axles. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door, and were contained in two holes of the immovable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom.

The custom among the Hebrews was to bury great riches and treasure in the sepulchres of their kings: Josephus relates, that Solomon interred his father David with great grandeur and solemnity in Jerusalem, with all the ceremonies proper to be used at royal obsequies, and among others, he buried a prodigious value of riches with him; the incredible estimate of which may be conjectured from that which follows; for, one thousand three hundred years after, the high priest Hyrcanus, being besieged by

Antiq. lib. vii. c. 12.

BOOK VI. Antiochus, surnamed the Wicked, and willing to give him a sum of money to induce him to raise the siege, and unable to procure it by any other means, he opened one cabinet of the monument of David, from whence he took three thousand talents; which he delivered to Antiochus: and a long time after this, Herod opened another cabinet, from whence he took an immense sum. A learned countryman of our own has offered many reasons to shew the improbability and the fiction of this account, which, I confess, give me no satisfaction.

Prideaux Connect. part ii. book 5.

CHAP. LIII.

Ornaments fixed upon tombs. Superstitious customs at the sepulchres of the dead.

THE tombs of great men were usually set out with ornaments suited to the actions and achievments for which they were distinguished. We have this description of the tombs of the warlike Maccabees: *Simon built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover, he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren. And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day.* The prophet Ezekiel alludes to this custom of hanging the arms of deceased warriors at

1 Macc. xiii. 27—30.

the heads of their tombs, where he threatens the Egyptians, that *they shall not be buried with the mighty, and though they have laid their swords under their heads, yet their iniquities should be upon their bones.* CHAP. LIII. Ezek. xxxii. 27.

It was sacrilege, says Josephus, in the place above, for any man to deface the tombs of princes, which were magnificently built, and not to be violated; and the sepulchres of private persons were held likewise in great reverence and veneration; it was unlawful to cross them with an aqueduct or a highway, to gather wood there, or to lead flocks to pasture; they were not allowed to walk among the tombs with phylacteries fastened to their heads, nor with the book of the law hanging at their arm, with other niceties too insignificant to insert; these observations grew at last into superstition, and the Jews at length resorted to the sepulchres of their saints for the purposes of devotion, and to offer up their prayers; for they believed they had a power to assist and succour them in their distress. Thus, say they, Caleb escaped from the hands of his persecutors, because he went to the tomb of his ancestors to pray them to intercede for his safety; and for this custom they allege four different reasons. They believe that the souls return and hover about the tombs where their bodies are buried. They conceive that there is a sensitive virtue in it, which being made active by the prayer of the devout, goes and awakes the soul in heaven, and admonishes it to pray. They are also persuaded that the divine influences are communicated to men by the bones of the dead; and lastly, they imagine that to visit the sepulchres is the way to learn more pressing motives

Massech. semabb. c. 14.

Wagenseil Excerpt. Gem.

BOOK VI. to repentance and humility; for, say they, this lesson naturally arises from viewing a tomb, You are all dead like these, unless you be converted. The old Hebrews had an idolatrous custom among them, of going among the tombs in order to receive dreams, by which they judged of events and how to manage their affairs; for they are charged by the Chap. lxv. prophet Isaiah with *remaining among the graves, and lodging in the monuments*, which is rendered by the Seventy, *with sleeping in the tombs*, upon the account of dreams; and it is reasonable to believe that the sepulchre of Moses was purposely concealed, lest in after-times it should become an object of worship and adoration; for, says R. Levi ben Gersom, future generations perhaps might have made a god of him, because of the fame of his miracles; for do we not see how some of the Israelites erred on the account of the brasen serpent which Moses made?

Matth. xxiii. 27. The Jews had a custom of marking the graves with chalk, and drawing upon them the figure of human bones, and every year they whited them with lime, in the month of February, that they might be known, for fear of defiling themselves in passing by; these graves were otherwise grown over with grass, and not to be distinguished from other ordinary ground; so that it was necessary they should be marked, that no one might go over them, and by that means contract a legal pollution. It is certain that the dead bodies defile and render those that touch them unclean, but the impurity is not contracted till the soul is perfectly separate from the body, and there remains no motion; then a piece of a dead body no bigger than an olive, a nutshell of

ashes, any part of a bone, a little quantity of blood, are sufficient to propagate the contagion. But some doubt is raised concerning the gate or pales that shut up or encompass the tombs; some maintain that they cannot defile, except when some particles of a dead body are observed upon them. Others, that are more rigid, will have every touch of the sepulchral stones or planks to be impure. When they plough up a burial-place, they may plant trees, and sow grain in it which is mowed and reaped, but it is not lawful to sow such as is plucked up, because the root carries with it dust and bones with the earth; at least the grain that has been thus gathered must be twice sifted, to avoid contracting impurity. In order to purify the burial-places, they add new earth to them, or take a certain quantity from them; but the surest way is to cover them with great tables of stone fastened together, for fear that by moving them in walking, a quantity of bones or dust may fly out and defile.

CHAP. LIV.

Epitaphs upon the tombs of the Jews. Ceremonies used at the grave, and after the funeral. Self-murderers denied the privilege of burial.

IT has been disputed by learned men whether epitaphs or inscriptions were in use among the ancient Hebrews. Benjamin of Tudela travelling into Judæa relates, that he read the inscriptions upon the tombs of the patriarchs that were buried at Machpelah, "This is the sepulchre of Abraham "our blessed father;" but the Christians, who for a

Itiner. p. 49.

BOOK VI. long time had the custody of these tombs, had made these inscriptions to deceive devout travellers, and to get the more money by them. The scripture says, that Jacob having buried Rachel in the way to Beth-el, erected a pillar there. The author of the Vulgar has translated it *a title;* and hence it has been concluded that it was an epitaph, since the heathens engraved some verses upon the tombs of the dead, and those verses were called *titles.* But though the use of epitaphs may not be of that antiquity, yet the Jews, it is certain, have long since received this custom. We may read those produced by Buxtorf; "I have set this stone for a monument "over the head of the venerable B. Eliakim de- "ceased—God grant he may repose in the garden "of Eden, with the rest of the saints of the earth, "Amen, Amen, Selah." Here is the elegy of a maid; "I have erected this monument on the head of the "most holy, most chaste, and most excellent Re- "becca, daughter to the holy rabbi Samuel the "Levite, who has lived in good reputation, and who "died the eighth of December, in the year 135," (that is, in the year 1375,) "let her soul be bound "in the garden of Eden." We find another for R. Baruch, "who descended towards those who are "among the cedars," and God is prayed to, "that "his soul may be in the bundle of life." It would be useless to multiply these inscriptions, which are so frequently to be met with in the writings of that nation.

Buxtorf's Talmud.

The sepulchre, one would think, should be called *the house of the dead;* but, on the contrary, the Jews give it the title of *the house of the living*, or *house of the age;* and they imagine that these names

were invented by the Pharisees, who would teach their enemies the Sadducees that the immortal soul lived after its separation from the body, and that the body shall rise in the world to come. CHAP. LIV.

But to return to the rites of burying, of which there being so few footsteps in scripture, we must have recourse to the practice of the later Jews. When they come to the burying-place, a speech is made to the dead. "Blessed," say they, "be God "who has formed thee, fed thee, maintained thee, "and taken away thy life. O dead! he knows your "numbers, and shall one day restore your life: "blessed be he that takes away life, and restores "it." They put the coffin in the ground, and if it be a person of merit they make his elogy. The holy Job, they say, alluded to this custom, when he considers it as a curse to the wicked, *whose root shall be dried up, and his branch cut off. His remembrance shall perish from the earth, and he shall have no name in the street.* They urge likewise that David, when he had the news of Jonathan's death, made a kind of funeral oration for his friend; but these proofs are very weak; for Job speaks of reputation which is lost after death, and *the street* does not signify a *cemetery.* Nor did David assist at the funeral of Saul and Jonathan, he only made a song of lamentation upon the loss of the battle, and the death of the princes that were killed in it.

Buxtorf Syag. Heb. p. 502.

Job xviii. 16, 17.

After the encomium, they make a prayer which they call *the righteousness of judgment,* because they give thanks to God for having pronounced an equitable sentence upon the dead; and it begins with these words of Deuteronomy, *He is the rock, his work is perfect.* Then they turn the face of the

BOOK VI. dead toward heaven, and say, "Go in peace." Those that most scrupulously observe the rites of the Talmudists say, "Go to peace;" because the first of these benedictions was given by David to Absalom, who remained hung in the forest by his hair, and the other was given to Moses by Jethro his father-in-law, whose journey after it was prosperous. They lay a little bag of earth upon the head of the dead, and nail up the coffin. Ten persons turn seven times round it, and say a prayer for the soul of the deceased; but this is not done in all places; the nearest relation tears a corner of his clothes, then they lay the body into the grave, and as they let down the coffin, they must take care that there has been none laid there before, because they will not allow two bodies to be placed one upon another. The relations of the dead are the first that throw earth upon the coffin. Each of those present throws in handfuls, or with a shovel, till the grave be filled. Before they leave the cemetery, each plucks up grass three times and throws it behind him, saying, "They "shall flourish like grass of the earth;" and this in hopes of the resurrection, which shall restore the bodies, or to teach that *all flesh is grass, and the glory of man is like the flower of the field.* They also put dust upon their heads, to remember that they are dust, and shall return to dust. Some add, as taking farewell of the dead, "We shall follow thee as "the order of nature shall require." They wash, sit down, and rise nine times, saying, *He that dwelleth in the secret places of the Most High;* and at last the company departs.

Salom. Ben Virgæ, Hist. Jud. p. 293.

Gloss. in Kiddush, fol. 80. 2.

The Jews distinguish the age of the children that die; if the child expires thirteen days after the birth,

a woman carries it in her lap; if it be a little older they make it a coffin, but they do not carry it on their shoulders like a bigger corpse; one or two women make the funeral pomp. It is not lawful to alter this order; because, if there were two women and one man, they might both yield to be corrupted; whereas two men do not so easily agree to debauch one woman. At least this is the notion of the rabbins, which is founded upon the great distance of cemeteries from the cities, which gives opportunity of temptation by the way. In the mean time they tell, that a woman carrying her child to the burying-place, under pretence it was dead, though it was still alive, to find opportunity of committing adultery with him that accompanied her, suffered herself to be dishonoured by ten men that followed her. This extraordinary event shews they had reason to take precautions for the maintaining a decorum, and prevent the disorders occasioned by the weakness of women. CHAP. LIV.

After the burial, a feast followed; which ridiculous practice the Jews are supposed to espouse, because the author of Ecclesiasticus says, that *delicates poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave;* but the author does not attribute to his own nation the custom of setting dishes upon the graves, but alludes only to that of the heathens, who made many collations, and brought meat and wine to the tombs, as if the dead could be replenished with them. It is certain that the Gentiles invited their friends and relations to eat upon the sepulchre of the dead, where they made a feast. One would think that this custom had come among the Jews since Tobias advised a man *to pour out his* Ecclus. xxx. 18. Tob. iv. 17.

BOOK VI. *bread on the burial of the just.* God likewise
Jer. xvi. 7. threatens his people by the prophet Jeremy, as with a great calamity, that men shall not give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or their
De Bell. lib. i. c. ult. mother; and Josephus observes, that Archelaus, after he had lamented Herod the Great seven days, gave a magnificent treat to the people; and that the custom ruined most of the Jews, who were not able to bear the expense of those feasts, and yet they would have been thought atheists if they had not done it.

Saint Jerome relates another custom of the Jews of his time, who rolled themselves in ashes, and in imitation of the Pharisees they first eat lentils, to remember that they had lost their birthright. At present, the relations of the dead, being returned home, sit upon the ground, and having taken off their shoes, bread and wine and hard eggs are brought them,
Prov. xxxi. 6. and they eat and drink: *Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts.* He that says the common grace to the meat is used to add some words of consolation. In the Levant, and in many other places, the friends and relations usually send in for seven days together, night and morning, to the near kindred of the dead, provisions for great and sumptuous entertainments, and also go and eat with them, to comfort them. As soon as the dead is carried out of the doors, they double up the quilts, and roll up the coverings, which they leave upon the mat, then they light a lamp at the head board, which burns uninterruptedly for seven days. They also take down all the beds of the house: some say this is done the very moment the dead is carried out, others when

the grave is shut up; and the controversy is so nice, that the Talmudists have left it undecided. The reason assigned for this custom is, that the friends of Job sat with him near the earth; but the practice at present is for the relation of the dead to continue in the house seven days, sitting on the ground, and eating in this posture. Leo de Mod. p. 181.

The privilege of burial among the Hebrews was denied to none but self-murderers, who laid violent hands upon themselves; these had their right hand cut off, and were thrown out to rot above ground. Malefactors that were hanged upon the gallows (which was a circumstance of the greatest ignominy) were always buried the same day; which was done, say the rabbins, out of reverence to the image of God wherein man was created; and though God, says Grotius, has sometimes punished some persons with the loss of burial, yet this he did by his own peculiar right, as his authority is above all laws. And whereas David kept the head of Goliath, to shew it as a token of his victory; this was done to an alien, to a contemner of the true God, and under that law wherein the word *neighbour* was confined to the Hebrews alone. There is, however, this one thing remarkable concerning burial, that in the Jewish law an exception was made of those that laid violent hands upon themselves, as Josephus informs us; and no wonder, since no other punishment can possibly be inflicted upon them who esteem death itself to be none. Yet some of the Hebrews, as the same author goes on, except one case out of the law against self-murder, as a kind of commendable transport, when a man plainly perceives that his life is like to be nothing for the future but a reproach to Jacob Pontan. Progymn. Lat. lib. iv. Deut. xxi. 23. De Jure Bell. lib. ii. c. 19.

BOOK VI. God himself; for since it is concluded, that the right over our own lives is not in ourselves, but in God; they are of opinion, that the will of God, made known to us by sure tokens, is the only lawful reason why a man should hasten his death. To this purpose they allege the example of Samson, who found the true religion was made a mock of in his person; and that of Saul, who fell upon his own sword, that he might not be insulted by his and God's enemies; for they will have it, that he repented as soon as Samuel's ghost had foretold him his death; and though he knew he should die in case he fought, yet that he would not refuse to fight for his country and the law of God, having attained eternal praise thereby, as David declares; and hence it was, that he so highly commends those who had given Saul an honourable burial.

CHAP. LV.

Rites of mourning for the dead.

TO mourn for the dead was esteemed an affirmative precept by the Jews, and it was accounted a sign of a cruel and savage disposition to deny this last tribute to the deceased. This duty more peculiarly was paid to the nearest relations; and, says
Hefel. c. 2. Maimonides, a man is bound, by the obligation of the law, to mourn for his mother, his father, his son, his daughter, his brother, and his sister by the same father; and he is obliged, by the judgment of our ancestors, to mourn even for a wife betrothed, before he has cohabited with her. If a relation of this kind died in another country, and a man had notice of it

within thirty days, or upon the thirtieth day after the decease, he was obliged to observe seven days of mourning, with all the ceremonies belonging to it; and to reckon from the day when the news was brought him. This was the rule for relations that were grown persons. CHAP. LV.

The Jews make a distinction between weeping and mourning, and (if I understand the difference) the first denotes all outward expressions of grief, the other signifies inward and silent sorrow; which is always understood to be most sincere. Children that were abortive were allowed the ceremony of weeping, and others that were about five or six years old had the same privilege. Persons that were lawfully executed for capital crimes against the king might be mourned for; and though their estates were forfeited to the king, their bodies were buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors. Such as suffered by the sentence of the judges, for private offences, had a mourning allowed for them, but were not buried among their forefathers, till their flesh was perished from the bone; their estate however descends to their heirs: when their bones are laid up in the sepulchre, then the solemnity of mourning begins. A person drowned in a river, or torn by wild beasts, for such, the day of mourning commenced from the time that any part of the body was found, or when the relations despaired of finding the least member of it. One that laid violent hands upon himself was denied the ceremony of weeping and mourning, and so were all wicked and profane persons, who neglected the worship of the synagogue and the observation of the law: for these the nearest relations were forbidden to mourn: their brethren and neighbours at

Geierus de luctu Ebr. c. 3.

Maimonides, Hefel. c. 1.

BOOK VI. their death were to put on white garments, and to rejoice, because an enemy of God and of religion was taken out of the world. Upon the death of a servant man or maid, there was no weeping or mourning, nor was any more regard had to them than to an ox or an ass when it died; which was this, that the neighbours usually wished to the master, "The Lord make up thy loss."

2 Chron. xxxii. 33. Schickard. Jus Reg. c. 6.

The obsequies of a king were celebrated with peculiar honours; among others, says Maimonides, a company of students in the law were appointed to sit at his sepulchre, and to mourn seven days together. All the horses in the king's stable were ham-strung after his death, and so were the mules that were used to burdens; his servants, men and maids, were not to submit to vulgar offices, but kept in their employments by the successor. But the queen dowager suffered the severest discipline; she was bound never to marry, not the brother of her deceased husband, but to remain in her widowhood all the days of her life. The king, the high priest, and priests of a lower order, were exempt by the law of Moses from the principal ceremonies of mourning; but these immunities being already explained in the former part of this work, are not to be repeated in this place.

The time of mourning for the dead was longer or shorter according to the dignity of the person. The Jews have a tradition which distinguishes between the days of weeping and mourning, the former of which never exceeded a month, which was the time they wept for Moses; the latter never lasted more than a year, as they gather from the example of the greatest doctor they ever had, rabbi Judah, who

composed the Mischna, for whom they mourned twelve months. The nearest relation was usually the principal mourner, and the neighbours were comforters, and, say the rabbins, when they returned from the grave, they went forward a little, and then sat down, partly to comfort the mourner, partly to weep themselves, and partly to meditate upon the subject of mortality; then they stood up again, and went on a little, and sat down again; and so for seven times; and these seven standings or sittings for the dead must not be diminished. The mourner always sits chief, and the comforters were not to speak a word till he broke silence first. There are many other niceties to this purpose, too trifling to be inserted, which may be judged of by these already mentioned. The three first days of mourning were observed with more severity than the other: upon the first day it was not lawful for the mourner to wear his phylacteries, to eat of holy things, nor indeed to eat of any thing of his own; all the three days he might do no servile work, no not privately; and if any one saluted him, he was not to salute him again; for the first seven days he was not to use his wife, nor to put on his sandals, to do no servile work publicly; not to wash himself in warm water, nor his whole body in cold, nor to anoint himself, nor to read the Mischna or the Talmud, nor to cover his head. All the thirty days he was not to be shaved, nor to wear any clothing that is white, or whitened, or new, nor to sew up the rents that he made in his garments for the party deceased. They go to the sepulchres, says another tradition, for three days, the very height of mourning is not till the third day; for three days the spirit wanders about

CHAP. LV.

Bava Bathra. fol. 100. 2.

Rambam in Moed. Katon. c. ult.

Bereshrabba, fol. 114. 3.

BOOK VI. the sepulchre, expecting it may return into the body, but when it sees the form or aspect of the face is changed, then it hovers no more, but leaves the body to itself.

The common time for mourning among the more modern Jews is for seven days; ten persons come evening and morning to pray with the afflicted; they read the forty-ninth psalm, pray for the soul of the dead, and administer their comforts in proportion to the loss. They dress themselves in mourning, according to the custom of the country where they live, without being obliged to it by any commandment. At the seven days' end they come out of doors to go to the synagogue, where many cause lamps to be lighted, prayers to be said, and promise alms for the soul of the dead; which they repeat again at the end of the month and year. If the dead be a rabbi, or some considerable person, they make on these days his *esped*, that is, his funeral oration. The son was used to say every day, night and morning, in the synagogue, his prayer *cadisc*, or *holy*, for the soul of his father or mother, and this for eleven months together; and some fast every year on the day that one or the other of them died.

Ezek. xxxi. 15. The mourning habit among the Hebrews was black, and the tokens of sorrow, public and private,

2 Sam. xv. 30. were doleful and affecting; to cover the head was a sign of the severest grief and distress, and to suffer the beard to grow rude and disorderly expressed the greatest confusion and calamity. It was a funeral ceremony to go barefoot, which was used likewise on the great fast, or day of expiation, though

Codex Joma, cap. 8. the doctors say they might put on woollen or linen

socks, but no leathern shoes. Their feet also were unwashed, which made men very sordid, especially in hot weather, when the smell of them was strong and offensive; nor did they wash their shirt, or any of the linen which they wore, for their woollen garments were never washed. To rend the clothes was anciently the highest degree of mourning which they did upon occasion of any great misfortune, or the commission of any great crime; and this custom continued in the times of the prophets, who make it criminal that men did not rend their clothes when grievous sins were committed. To put dust upon the head was an expression of great grief, and though the holy Job shaved his head (or rather plucked off the hair) in his affliction, yet it was not allowed to be shaved during the days of mourning, and to pull off the hair was equally unlawful. The Hebrews were expressly forbidden to make any baldness between their eyes for the dead, and to mar the corners of their beards; these prohibitions certainly referred to the superstitious customs among the Gentiles in their ceremonies of mourning. Some of the heathen, says Theodoret, cut off all their hair, and offered it to the dead, they threw it into the sepulchre with the bodies of their friends, or laid it upon the face or breasts of the deceased, as an offering to the infernal gods. Others shaved their beards, their eyebrows and eyelids, or (which some think is the meaning of *between their eyes*) the hair in the forepart of their head, or near their temples; which seems to be the design of the Jerusalem Targum, which translates it, Ye shall not make any baldness *in the house of your countenance;* and whether it were done with the razor, or they used

CHAP. LV.

2 Sam. xix. 24.

Job i. 20.

Deut. xiv. 1. Lev. xix. 27.

In Deut. Quest. 13.

BOOK VI. any art by plaisters or ointment to make the hair fall off, it was the same offence against this law. The heathen had another practice, which was, to cut themselves with their nails, or with knives, or with sharp instruments, in order to pacify the infernal spirits, and make them favourable to the dead. These incisions were forbidden, and Huetius conceives that law of Solon's, which was transcribed by the Romans into the twelve tables, that women in mourning should not scratch their cheeks, had its original from this institution of Moses.

Lev. xix. 28.

Demon. Evang. Propos. 4. c. 12.

No mark was to be printed upon their bodies in imitation of the Gentiles, who made impressions upon their flesh at the funeral of their friends, that by the compunction and pain they felt, they might pacify and appease the infernal powers.

There were other ceremonies of mourning, which being less significant, to mention only will be sufficient; such as profound silence, elevation of the hands, the letting the nails grow, lying upon the ground, with watching and fasting; a garment of sackcloth was sometimes wore next the flesh, and sometimes over their clothes. It was made of harsh and coarse materials, which some conjecture to be camels' hair. It was common in mourning and great afflictions to beat the breast and the thigh. The prophet Nahum says, that the queen being a prisoner, *her maids accompanied her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts:* this passage has been thought obscure. To make the queen march with the sound of tabers, as many interpreters do, is a sign of joy rather than grief. It is therefore more natural to ascribe to those maids who followed the princess in her captivity, *the mourning*

Nahum ii. 7.

of doves, and to make them beat their breast with the same vehemence as a taber is beaten. Sometimes they laid their hand upon their head, as well as upon the thigh. Jeremy mentions both these customs: *Thou shalt go forth from him, and thine hands upon thine head: for the Lord hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.* *I have laid my hand upon my thigh*, says he in another place; and this custom has continued to this day. CHAP. LV. Jer. ii. 37. Jer. xxxi. 19.

CHAP. LVI.

The Hebrew coins.

IT does not appear that there was any pecuniary traffick before the flood, and it is probable that bartering one thing for another was the practice of those times, as it still is among the most barbarous nations. And even after the flood this way of commerce did not cease; as when there was a dissension between the servants of Abraham and Abimelech about the well that Abraham dug, we read that *he took sheep and oxen and gave them to Abimelech;* which perhaps denote his bartering for the well, no less than furnishing him with beasts for sacrifice, by which they made a covenant with one another.

The most ancient mention of money or coin is when we are told that *Abram was very rich in silver and gold;* and that money was used in the days of that patriarch is evident from the text, which speaks of a servant that is bought with money, or, as the Hebrew has it, *that is the acquisition of silver;* and concerning the same patriarch it is said, that *Abraham weighed to Ephron four hundred* Gen. xiii. 2. Gen. xvii. 13. Gen. xxiii. 16.

BOOK VI. *shekels of silver for a burying-place*, which is called *current money with the merchants*, such as passed to the trader, which he would take as well as give. This is undeniable evidence that money, silver coin, was in use betimes, even in those first ages of the world. From this time we constantly read that things were purchased with *keseph, money*, properly *silver*, and therefore rendered by the Seventy ἀργύριον. This is the word for a shekel in all those texts where it is put absolutely and alone by itself; it is generally translated *a piece of silver*, but by the prophet Isaiah *a silverling*.

Money was not anciently stamped, but it was received by its bulk and weight, which being very troublesome, they learned in time to set a mark upon it, to free it from that inconvenience; for having the public stamp, that made it current at a known value. This must not be understood of foreign money, which was still weighed, though stamped; but of that of their own country, which they were sure was worth so much as the mark expressed. Yet it continued to be weighed among the Jews till David's time, and even till the captivity of Babylon, and indeed the very word *shekel* comes from *shakal, to weigh*, and may properly be interpreted *the weight*. From hence it appears that there is no truth in what the Jews say, that Joshua, David, and Mordecai, nay Abraham, coined money in their days. To support which fiction they have counterfeited some coins with the inscription of "Senex and Anus" on one side, and "Juvenis and Virgo" on the other, as if Isaac and Rebekah were now married, or Abraham had power to coin money in a country where he did but sojourn, and was no sovereign. The tradition

1 Chron. xxi. 25. Jer. xxxii. 9.

In Bershith Rabba.

upon this occasion runs thus: "On Abraham's money CHAP. LVI.
"were stamped, on one side, an old man and an old
"woman, on the other, a young man and a young
"maid; on Joshua's money, on one side, an ox, on
"the other, a monoceros; on David's money, on one
"side, a staff and a scrip, on the other, a tower; on
"Mordecai's money, on one side, sackcloth and ashes,
"on the other, a crown." "What is the Jerusalem
"money?" says another tradition: the answer is, Bava Kama. fol. 24. 2.
"David and Solomon were stamped on one side, and
"on the reverse Jerusalem the holy city." But the truth of all this depends upon the credit of the authors, which, I fear, is but of small signification.

Among the ancients the way of reckoning their money was by talents; so the Hebrews, so the Babylonians, so the Greeks and the Romans did reckon; and of these talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into minas and drachms, that is, of their talents into minas, and of their minas into drachms. The Hebrews had besides these their shekels, and half shekels or bekas, and the Romans their denarii, which last were near of the same value with the drachms of the Greeks. What was the value of an Hebrew talent appears from a passage in Exodus, where six hundred thousand and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons being taxed at a half shekel a head, they must have paid in the whole three hundred thousand and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels, and that sum is said in the text to amount to a hundred talents and a thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels over: if therefore we deduct the one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels from the number thirty thousand and one thousand Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.

BOOK VI. seven hundred and seventy-five, and divide the remaining sum, that is, three hundred thousand, by a hundred, this will prove each of those talents to contain three thousand shekels. Each of these shekels weighed about three shillings of our money, and sixty of them, Ezekiel tells us, made a mina, and therefore fifty of those minas make a talent.

Ezek. xlv. 12.

As to their drachms, it appears by the Gospel that it was a fourth part of a shekel, that is, ninepence of our money, for there the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every Jew (which was half a shekel) is called δίδραχμον, that is, *the two-drachm piece;* and therefore, if a half shekel contained two drachms, a drachm must have been the quarter part of a shekel, and every shekel must have contained four of them; and so Josephus tells us it did, for he says that a shekel contained four Attic drachms; which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments; for according to the weight, the heaviest Attic drachms did not exceed eightpence farthing half farthing of our money, and an Hebrew drachm, as I have said, was ninepence: but what the Attic drachm fell short of the Hebrew in weight might be made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all countries, (which last the Hebrew drachm could not have,) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the Jews. Allowing therefore a drachm, as well Attic as Jewish, as valued in Judæa, to be equivalent to ninepence of our money, a beka, or half shekel, will be one shilling and sixpence, a shekel three shillings, a mina nine pound, and a talent four hundred and fifty pound. So was it in the time of Moses and

Matth. xvii. 24.

Antiq. lib. iii. c. 9.

Ezekiel, and so was it the same in the time of Josephus, among that people; for he tells us that a Hebrew mina contained two litras and a half, which comes exactly to nine pound of our money; for a litra, being the same with a Roman libra, contained twelve ounces Troy-weight, that is, ninety-six drachms; and therefore two litras and a half must contain two hundred and forty drachms; which, being estimated at ninepence a drachm, according to the Jewish valuation, comes exactly to sixty shekels, or nine pound of our money. The quarter of a shekel was called *zuza* by the Talmudists, and the *gerah* was the twentieth part, and is translated ὄβολος by the Seventy interpreters.

CHAP. LVI.

Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 12.

1 Sam. ii. 36. Exod. xxx. 13.

The shekel was sometimes called *the shekel of the sanctuary*, because there the standard was kept, by which such money was to be examined; as Justinian commanded the weights and measures, whereby all others were to be regulated, to be kept in the great church of every city; for there is no foundation for that opinion, that there were two sorts of shekels among the Jews, one sacred, (as valuable again as the other,) and the other common, but strong arguments against it: the cabinets of the curious pretend to shew a Jewish shekel among their collections; one side is marked with the pot of manna, or, as others think, Aaron's censer, or the incense cup, and round this vessel are written these words, "The "shekel of Israel, in Samaritan characters; on the reverse side was represented Aaron's rod budding, with this inscription about the coin, "Jerusalem the "Holy."

The valuations of the Hebrew money hitherto mentioned must be understood only of silver money,

BOOK VI. and not of gold, for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to silver was among the ancients most commonly as ten to one, sometimes it was raised to it as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. The present proportion among us in England is as sixteen to one; but the understanding of the Hebrew coin will be much easier by the following table of calculation:

	£.	s.	d.q.
The gerah	0	0	1 3
An Hebrew drachm, or zuza	0	0	9
Two drachms made a bekah, or half shekel, which was tribute money paid by every Jew to the temple	0	1	6
Two bekahs made a shekel	0	3	0
Sixty shekels made a mina	9	0	0
Fifty minas made a talent	450	0	0
A talent of gold sixteen to one	7200	0	0

CHAP. LVII.

Hebrew weights.

THE principal weights used by the Hebrews were the shekel, the talent, and the mina, or maneh: the shekel, says Dr. Cumberland, was just of the weight of half an ounce avoirdupois now, and anciently used in England, or it weighed 219 grains used in our Troy-weight, and so wanted 21 grains of the half ounce Troy; and this he proves from many shekels still remaining that differ not sensibly from this weight; which may reasonably be thought to have been tried by the Jewish standards when they were coined. Of these Villalpandus reckons up many,

Scripture Weights, chap. 4.

and Greaves two, one in the library of king Charles the First of blessed memory, weighed by archbishop Usher, and another in Mr. Selden's, weighed by himself, as he witnesseth in his learned treatise of the Roman denarius. CHAP. LVII. Page 76.

"I have also," says the same learned prelate, "seen and weighed two shekels with Samaritan inscriptions on them, which, although I had not "opportunity to weigh them to a grain, yet I do "testify they weighed within a very few grains as "is above expressed. Nor can I find any sufficient "reason to reject these as counterfeit, and if any "will believe them to be such, yet it must be acknowledged that they are made so as to agree in "weight with the testimonies of the ancients, which "is sufficient to our purpose, because their value in "our coin may be deduced thence; for since it is "known that now by the laws of our mint 62 "pence are coined out of every Troy ounce, it will "follow that 2*s.* 4*d.* and a farthing's worth of silver "with three centesimals of a penny over, must be "contained in 219 grains, which is the shekel's "weight. By this analogy, as 480*s.* are to 62*d.* "so 219*s.* are to *d.* 28, 28 decimals of a penny, "which make one farthing and near the 8th part "of a farthing."

Such was the shekel of the sanctuary. Another half so heavy is contended for by some modern Jews and Christians. There is certainly a piece of that weight, but it constantly bears the inscription of "half a shekel," called a *bekah*, whose weight must be 109 grains and a half. The quarter, called *zuza*, is gra. 54, 75: its twentieth part, which is the gerah, (and is understood to be the same with *agurah*,

BOOK VI. which we translate indefinitely *a piece of silver,*)
1 Sam. ii. 36. must be gr. 10. 95; which wanting but the twentieth part of a grain of eleven grains, may pass for just so many.

The weights less than a shekel being stated, those which are greater may be called sums of shekels, and are the talent and the maneh. A talent was 3000 shekels, as may be collected by halving the number of the Israelites, (because each one brought half a shekel,) which half of their number is 301,775, and is the sum of the shekels which they all contributed. Now Moses assures us that these amounted to 100 talents with 1775 shekels more, wherefore that number which dividing 301,775 will quote 100, and leave 1775 in remainder, is the number of shekels in a talent; but only three thousand will do this, therefore 3000 shekels are a talent. Now we may easily reduce the talent to ounces or pounds avoirdupois used in weight among us; for two shekels are our ounce avoirdupois; therefore 1500 ounces are in a talent; which number divided by 16, the ounces of a pound avoirdupois, gives the pounds in a talent, thus; 16) 1500 (93, 75. The quote shews that 93 pounds and three quarters of a pound avoirdupois are in a talent. This weight is the same now and in former ages, but the true value of this weight of silver or gold alters in several ages considerably, as coins do every where.

Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.

The maneh being set for a mere weight, without respect to the coinage, contained just 100 shekels: this seems clear by comparing the text where it is said that in each of Solomon's shields were three manehs, or, as we translate it, *pounds of gold,* with another, where our translation affirms, that 300

1 Kings x. 17.

2 Chron. ix. 16.

shekels of gold went to one of those shields. And indeed, although the word shekel be not in the original expressed, yet it must be understood, because Ezekiel assures us, that by the shekel the maneh was adjusted. CHAP. LVII.

There is an express injunction in the Mosaic law, *Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure;* so that, says Rabbi Levi of Barcelona, he who measures or weighs has the office of a judge, and if he commits any frauds in his measures and weights, he is a corrupter of judgment, and is called wicked, abominable, accursed. He observes further, that such men are the cause of five mischiefs which are imputed to unjust judges, who defile the land, profane the name of God, remove the presence of the Divine majesty, bring a sword upon the people, and at last carry them away captive out of their own country: and therefore great punishments have been enacted in all countries against this crime, as destructive to human society; particularly Justinian ordained that such should be sorely beaten, as impious people. The meteyard refers to the measuring of land, cloth, and other things; for the word in the original signifies the measure of continued quantity, that is, in things dry. Lev. xix. 35. Præcept. 260.

They were obliged to be just in weight, by which they paid and received money in those days, and sold brass and iron, and things of the like nature; and they were commanded to do no unrighteousness in measure, which relates to the measure of discrete quantity, as we speak, as of corn, and of all continued fluid quantity, as of wine and oil: the same rabbi Levi will have it signify the very least of such

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BOOK VI. measures, about which, says he, the law concerns itself, that men should be exact in them, as well as in the greatest; and so Hesychius notes upon this occasion, that Moses provides against all injustice, in small things as well as in great, for what the possession of a field or a house is to a wealthy man, that the measure of corn or wine, or the weight of bread, is to the poor, who have daily need of such things for the support of life. The Jewish doctors assert, that it was a constitution of their wise men, for the preventing of all frauds in these matters, that no weights, balances, or measures should be made of any metal, as of iron, lead, tin, (which were liable to rust, or might be bent, or easily impaired,) but of marble, stone, or glass, which were less subject to be abused; and therefore the scripture, speaking of the justice of God's judgments, in the book of Proverbs, observes, (according to the Vulgate,) *that they are weighed with all the stones in the bag.*

Prov. xvi. 11.

For these excellent constitutions Moses was so famous, that his name was celebrated on the account of them in other nations. Apuleius (a rude kind of writer, but who had collected much out of better authors) says, that Mochus was the inventor of scales and weights, and that his memory is preserved in the constellation called *Libra:* now if for Mochus we read *Moschos,* it is the very name of Moses, (viz. Moscheh,) who, as the learned Huetius observes, is so called by other authors.

Demonst. Evan. Prop. iv. cap. 7.

CHAP. LVIII.

Measures of capacity among the Hebrews.

THE measures of capacity are either of things that are dry or of those that are liquid; of the first sort are the *cab*, the least of dry measures used by the Jews, containing about a quarter of a peck of our English measure. CHAP. LVIII. 2 Kings vi. 25.

The ephah, of the same quantity with the bath, (of which afterwards,) only the one is for dry things, the other for wet. It may be called *the Hebrew bushel*, because it was much about that quantity, though some will have it to be much more, and others a considerable deal less; that is, half a bushel and a pottle. Some say it contains about seven gallons, others nine, so that we cannot fix the precise quantity of this measure; which neither the Greek interpreters knew, though they were Jews, for they render the word differently, sometimes μέτρον, sometimes πέμμα, and at other times ὑφεὶ and ὑφὶ and οἰφεί. Lev. v. 11.

An homer, or chomer, is ten baths or ephahs, that is, ten bushels, say some, but others set it higher, making it fourteen bushels, and others bring it lower, reducing it to about eight bushels. This is the greatest (however the just and exact quantity be disputed) of all dry measures.

An omer, or *gnomer* in the Hebrew, in the vulgar Latin *gomor*, has been confounded by some writers of no mean note with the homer; and the Seventy interpreters did so long before, calling both of them *gomor;* but they are certainly two distinct measures; for we are assured that *an omer is the tenth part of an ephah;* that is, the tenth part of a bushel, or Exod. xvi. 36.

BOOK VI. thereabouts, and therefore is called *a tenth deal;*
Numb. xv. 4. whereas the homer contained ten ephahs, or baths, that is, ten bushels. But yet this is an equivocal
Lev. xxiii. 10. word, as appears from this precept; *Ye shall bring a sheaf of the firstfruits of your harvest unto the high priest.* It is the word *omer* which is here translated *a sheaf,* (a far different thing from a measure,) and by the Septuagint and vulgar Latin version, a *maniple* or *handful;* which is indeed a sort of measure, but greatly disagreeing with the usual signification of omer; but in all other places the Hebrew name itself is retained in the Greek and Latin versions, as well as in ours.

1 Kings iv. 22. The cor is made by some a distinct measure from those before named, but you will find that, accord-
Ezek. xlv. 13, 14. ing to the vulgar Latin, a cor and a chomer are the same.

The measures for liquids among the Hebrews
Lev. xiv. 10. were a log, which contained about half a pint; however, this is sure, that it was the least of liquid measures.

Numb. xv. 4. A hin was somewhat bigger than a log, some say it held ten logs; a great gallon I may call it.

Ezek. xlv. 11. A bath was yet bigger, and contained six hins, that is, about six gallons, others say four gallons and a half; and yet it is said to be of the same capacity with the ephah, that is, a bushel; and consequently should hold eight gallons.

The homer was also a measure for liquor as well as for grain, and it contained ten baths, as is evident
Ezek. xlv. 14. from the prophet Ezekiel, *ten baths are an homer;* but because a bath is more or less, according to the different determinations of writers, we cannot assign the exact quantity of an homer.

A cor (which I before mentioned as the same with the chomer, the greatest of all dry measures) is also a measure for liquids. But it is no wonder that we have not an exact knowledge of these Jewish measures, for even those that are mentioned in Greek and Latin authors, and very much fall short of the antiquity of these, are but little known by us. CHAP. LIX.

CHAP. LIX.

The antiquity of agriculture, and the feeding of cattle. The offerings of Cain and Abel.

WHEN God placed Adam in paradise, a garden of delight, he instructed him to dress and keep it, that is, according to the Seventy, *to work and belabour the ground;* to open the earth, to let in the influences of heaven, to prune the trees, and cherish the plants, to preserve the fruits from the beasts and fowls, which had admittance into that place, and to keep all things in good order, as a skilful gardener and husbandman; for both these made up the first employment and trade in the world. And when man was ejected out of paradise, he was still set about the same work, and there was more need of exercising this art now than before, the earth not being a little endamaged by the curse which God had denounced against it, and had executed upon it; which was one reason why Adam brought up his son Cain to husbandry and tilling the ground, for now it wanted manuring and cultivating: and as his eldest son was brought to take care of the fruits of the earth, so his next was bred up to feeding of sheep. Jabal advanced higher, and became the first Gen. ii. 15. Gen. iii. 23.

BOOK VI. grazier, for so the words may be understood, *He*
Gen. iv. 20. *was the father of such as have cattle*, that is, other cattle besides sheep; for these, and the keeping or feeding of them, had been mentioned before; he lived upon pasturage, and for that purpose was *the father of such as dwell in tents;* the meaning of which is, that others generally lived in one fixed place and habitation, but he and those of his calling went from one place to another feeding. They travelled as their cattle did, and for this reason it was requisite they should have tents; accordingly, that they might take care of their flocks and herds the better, they invented these coverings, that they might be out in the fields all night under this shelter. This was the primitive state of things; Adam and his firstborn son were husbandmen, and others of his race were busied in feeding of cattle. Such was the employment of those that were the first heirs of the world.

For a long time after, in the first and most uncorrupted ages, this was the entertainment of the greatest persons; the old patriarchs embraced this kind of life, and the wealthiest of them lived by looking to their grounds and to their flocks. Moses, the great lawgiver of the Hebrews, was a shepherd: Nabal and Absalom were sheep masters: Elijah, when he was busy at the plough, was called to the prophetic dignity and office: and Amos, of a herdsman became a divine messenger and preacher: Shamgar was taken from the herd to be a judge in Israel, and with the same goad that he drove his oxen he slew six hundred men: Gideon's seat of state and justice was in a threshing-floor: the renowned Jair and Jephthah were fetched from that

employment to be judges: and David the son of Jesse was taken from the sheepfolds. Thus the pastoral art was a preludium to empire and government. King Uzziah was a *lover of husbandry*; and the wise Solomon confessed, that *the profit of the earth was for the advantage of all*; and more especially, (as it is in the Hebrew,) *the king himself is a servant to the field.* CHAP. LIX. 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. Eccles. v. 9.

The first oblations that were made to God were *of the fruit of the ground*, and *of the firstlings of the flock*: they were offered by Cain and Abel, *in process of time*, as the text speaks; in the Hebrew the words are, *in the end of days*, that is, in the conclusion of the year, or after harvest. This was a very seasonable time to make their acknowledgments to God, who had given them a fruitful year, and blessed them with increase. The first of these offerings were the most ancient sacrifices among the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans, as their authors tell us; and therefore it is supposed that Adam began with these oblations of herbs, flowers, frankincense, meal, &c. in which Cain followed him, being of the same profession, and provided with such things. Now as there were some solemn times of making their devout acknowledgments to God, so without question there were some set places where they met for that purpose; for it is said, they *brought* their offerings; and the word in the Hebrew is never used about domestic or private sacrifices, but always about those public sacrifices, which *were brought to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation*, to be offered by the priest, as it is expressed in Leviticus, *He shall bring the bullock to the door*, &c. which occurs all along, especially in the ninth chapter of that book. Gen. iv. 3. Lev. iv. 4.

BOOK VI. And therefore, I suppose, they brought their sacrifices here mentioned to some fixed place, looking towards the shechinah, or glorious presence of God, at the entrance of the garden of Eden, from which Adam had been expelled: for there being no doubt some settled place where they performed sacred offices, it is most reasonable to think it had respect to the shechinah, or the Divine majesty. Whereso-ever that appeared, there they appeared (as the scripture speaks) before God, because there he manifested his special presence, which moved them to go thither to worship him, to give him thanks, or to inquire of him.

What kind of sacrifices these were is a question among learned men. The Talmudists are of opinion that they were whole burnt offerings, and that there was no other before the law was given, nor would the Jews, after the giving of the law, permit the Gentiles to offer any other at their temple. It is their opinion also, that Cain and Abel brought these sacrifices to be offered by Adam; but the most difficult question is, how they came to sacrifice at all either meal or beasts? since we read of no divine command requiring them to bring such oblations; which induced some to conclude, that men did this out of a grateful inclination to return God some of his own blessings, though they had no directions from him about it. But if this were true, how came Abel to believe that his sacrifice of a beast would be so acceptable to God? as the apostle says, it was by faith? That faith had certainly something else to warrant it than barely his own reason. Adam, in all likelihood, had received some order concerning it, and sacrificed by direction from the shechinah or

Heb. xi. 4.

Divine majesty, from whence a voice spake to him upon several occasions. This order indeed is not recorded, no more than many other things which Moses has omitted in the book of Genesis; but it does not seem probable that Adam would have presumed to invent a way of worship, by killing beasts and burning their fat, especially since one cannot perceive any inclination to it in nature. And therefore Eusebius very judiciously observes, in my opinion, that this way of worship was not taken up by chance, or by a human notion, but suggested to them by a Divine intimation. Plato, one would suppose, had some thought of this, when he forbids his lawmaker (in his Epinomis) to make any alterations in the rites of sacrificing, because it is not possible for our mortal nature to know any thing about such matters.

CHAP. LIX.

Gen. ii. 16, 17. iii. 8, 9.

Demonst. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.

The offering of Abel was *of the firstlings of his flock;* and therefore many have fancied from hence that Cain's guilt lay in this, that he did not bring the first of his fruit as he ought to have done, as the heathens ever did, or were bound to do, by the pontifical laws, (as Mr. Selden observes,) in their *præmessum*, that is, the firstfruits of their corn, or their *calpar*, which was the richest of their wine; for it is only said, he brought *of the fruit of his ground*, when Abel brought *of the firstlings of his flock.* And Moses also adding, that Abel brought *of the fat thereof*, that is, the very best, they think that Cain's fault was, that he brought not the fullest ears of corn, (which he kept for himself,) but the leanest, and offered them with a niggardly hand, or a grudging mind. Thus Palladius, in his life of

Hist. of Tithes, c. 1.

BOOK VI. St. Chrysostom, says, "He was the first that tasted "the firstfruits, and kept the best things for his "own belly." But there is no certainty of this; and the apostle to the Hebrews has directed us to a better account. Abel offered with a pious mind; Cain, without a due sense of God and sincere affection to him. He offered the fruit of his ground, but did not devote himself to God, therefore he did not so much as shine upon his sheaves, much less make them ascend up to heaven in a smoke, though he were the elder brother, and brought his offering first. God testified his acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, say the Jews, by a fire from heaven, (or rather, I think, by a stream of light, or a flame from the shechinah, or glorious presence of God, to whom it was offered,) which burnt up his sacrifice. Thus it is expressed in the translation of Theodotion, *He looked upon Abel's sacrifices, and set them on fire;* of which there were many examples in future times to be met with in the holy scriptures.

Heb. xi. 4.

Lev. ix. 24.

Judges vi. 21, &c.

CHAP. LX.

Of ploughing, sowing, and reaping.

IN the first ages of the world men were chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the earth with their own hands, but Noah advanced the art of husbandry, and found out fitter instruments for ploughing than were known before. This patriarch is called *a man of the ground*, but in our translation a *husbandman*, because of the improvements he made in agriculture, and of the inventions he found out to make the earth more tractable and fruitful.

Gen. ix. 20.

It was a curse upon the earth after the fall, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles: these obstructions were to be removed, which required a great deal of pains; and the ground was to be corrected by ploughing. CHAP. LX.

The Hebrews were forbidden by the law of Moses *to plough with an ox and an ass together.* This precept, without doubt, had respect to some magical rites used by the idolatrous nations of the eastern countries, who thought their fields would be more fruitful, if, according to some directions which had been given by their gods, they were ploughed; for it can scarce be supposed, that men of themselves would join together two creatures so different in their temper and motions to draw in the same yoke, if they had not been led to it by some superstition; for, as Eben Ezra observes upon this law, "the "strength of an ass is not as the strength of an "ox;" whence it was that Ulysses, to make it be believed that he was mad, joined a horse and an ass to plough. The Jews commonly think this law extends to all other creatures of different species, which might not be yoked; but some understand it so, that they might join several kinds together, provided one was not unclean, and the other clean: and there are those who think the apostle alludes to this, when he says, *Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.* Deut. xxii. 10. 2 Cor. vi. 14.

There is no account of ploughing in scripture, but with oxen drawing by pairs in a yoke, which without doubt was practised before the time of Moses, who was long before Ceres or Triptolemus, to whom this invention is ascribed by the Greeks. Elisha was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, when

BOOK VI. Elijah found him, which shews him to have been a great man, who, according to the manners of those ancient times, looked after his business himself; his servants managed the rest, he himself drove the last.

Judges iii. 31. Shamgar, who was called to be a judge in Israel, it is supposed was at plough when the Philistines came to invade his country, and gave them such a repulse, with the loss of six hundred of their men, without any other weapon than an ox-goad. And thus Lycurgus is said to have overthrown the forces of Bacchus, without any other arms but βουπλῆγι, an *ox-goad.*

Bochart, lib. i. Canaan, c. 18. Edit. 4. p. 110. The ingenious Mr. Maundrel, in his journey from Jerusalem to Aleppo, relates, that when he was near Jerusalem, he came to a certain place, where, says he, "the country people were every where at plough "in the fields, in order to sow cotton; it was ob- "servable that in ploughing they used goads of an "extraordinary size; upon measuring of several, I "found them to be about eight foot long, and, at the "bigger end, six inches in circumference. They "were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle "for driving of the oxen, and at the other end, with "a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, "for cleansing the plough from the clay that encum- "bers it in working. May we not from hence con- "jecture that it was with such a goad as one of "these that Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter "related of him. I am confident that whoever should "see one of these instruments would judge it to be "a weapon not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a sword "for such an execution: goads of this sort I saw "always used hereabouts, and also in Syria; and "the reason is, because the same single person both "drives the oxen, and also holds and manages the

" plough, which makes it necessary to use such a CHAP. LX.
" goad as is above described, to avoid the incum-
" brancé of two instruments."

The method of managing the ground, and preparing it for the seed, was much the same with the practice of the present times; for Jeremiah speaks of *ploughing up the fallow ground*, and Isaiah of *harrowing*, or *breaking up the clods;* but Moses gave a positive injunction, that they should not sow their fields *with mingled seed.* Philo remarks ingeniously upon this occasion, " Things of the same " kind were made for society one with another, but " things heterogeneous (as we call them) were not " intended to be mixed and associated; and there- " fore he who attempts to mingle them, wickedly " destroys the law of nature." This law is extended by rabbi Levi to trees, which, he says, they were not to ingraft one upon another; but it concerns, they say, only such seeds and plants as are for men's food, not those that are for medicine. But Maimonides found a particular reason for this precept, from the idolatrous customs of the old Zabii, who not only sowed different seeds, and grafted trees of a different kind upon one another, in such or such aspect of the planets, and with a certain form of words and fumigations, but also used abominable filthiness at the very moment of the incision; which he proves out of a book concerning the Incision of an Olive into a Citron, and doubts not that God forbad his people to *sow with mingled seed,* that he might root out the detestable idolatry, and those preternatural lusts which abounded in those days.

Jer. iv. 3. Isa. xxviii. 24. De Creatione Princip. Præcept. 250. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 37.

Among many rewards promised to the Jews for their obedience, they were to expect the first rain,

Deut. xi. 14.

BOOK VI. to soften their ground, before the sowing of their seed, and after it was sown, that it might take root in the earth, and spring up; and the latter rain, by which their corn was brought forward when it was but in the blade, to earing, and so on to harvest.

Deut. xxviii. 5. They were to be blessed *in their basket and their store;* which signifies, their barns should be full, where they laid up their corn, and other fruits of the earth; they should be preserved from fire, or thieves, or other disasters; and they should have over and above what was sufficient for their present use. As a curse for their disobedience, it was threatened, that the clouds which hung over their country

Ver. 23. should have no more moisture in them than brass, and that the earth should be as hard as iron, for want of rain to soften it. The observation of Mai-

More Nevoch. p. iii c. 30. monides is worth noting upon this part of the law; that the Zabii, an ancient sort of idolaters in the eastern countries, thought the fruitfulness of the earth depended upon the worship of the planets and the rest of the heavenly bodies: "And therefore "their wise men and their prophets" (as he says he found in their books, particularly in one, concerning the husbandry of the Egyptians) "taught the people "to keep festivals in their honour, because the fruit-"fulness of the earth, upon which men subsist, de-"pends upon their will and pleasure. In opposition "to which, God ordered Moses to tell the Israelites "in his name, that if they worshipped the stars, they "should have no rain, the earth should be barren, "the trees yield no fruit, the season prove unhealth-"ful, and their lives be shortened: on the contrary, "if they worshipped him, the Lord of heaven and "earth, and him alone, they should have showers

"from above, the earth should bring forth abun- CHAP. LX.
"dantly, and they should be blessed with healthful
"seasons, sound bodies, and long life." It is further threatened, if they would not conform to their duty, that there should be such a long drought, that instead of rain, showers of dust, blown up into the air by the wind, should fall down from heaven upon them; that they should be oppressed sorely by famine, for they should carry much seed into the field, but should gather little in; that strangers should eat up the fruit of their land and of their labours, and that swarms of locusts should devour the produce of their trees and of their fields. Deut. xxviii. 24. ver. 38.

The sorts of grain that they sowed, were fitches, cummin, wheat, barley, and rice; there were three months between their sowing and their first reaping, and four months to their full harvest; their barley harvest was at the Passover, and their wheat harvest at the Pentecost. The reapers made use of sickles, and according to the present custom *they filled their hands* with the corn, and *those that bound up the sheaves their bosom:* there was a person *set over the reapers*, to see that they did their work, that they had provision proper for them, and to pay them their wages; the Chaldees call him *rab*, the master, the ruler, or governor of the reapers. The women were used to reap as well as the men; and such was the piety of ancient times, that such who came into the field saluted those they saw at work in this form, *The Lord be with you;* to which they answered, *The Lord bless thee.* This was practised by the Gentiles themselves, especially in harvest-time; which they would not begin, by putting the sickle into the corn, till Ceres had been invoked; as Virgil relates in the Isa. xxviii. 25. Weemse's Works, vol. iii. tract 2. p. 192. Ruth ii. 5. Ruth ii. 4.

BOOK VI. first book of his Georgics. This religious salutation became familiar among the Jews, and was continued even to our Saviour's days, when the angel saluted the blessed Virgin after this manner. The reapers were usually entertained above the rank of common servants, though in the time of Boaz we find nothing provided for them but bread and parched corn, and their sauce was vinegar, it being very cool in those hot countries. The poor were allowed the liberty of leasing; they were not bound to admit them immediately into the field, as soon as the reapers had cut down the corn, and bound it up in sheaves, but when it was carried off; they might choose also, among the poor, whom they thought most worthy, or most necessitous.

Georg. i. 347, 348.

Luke i. 28.

Ruth ii. 14.

CHAP. LXI.

Of threshing and grinding the corn.

AFTER the grain was carried into the barn, the next concern was to thresh, or beat the corn out of the ear, which (as was before observed) was performed different ways. It was done sometimes by drawing a loaded cart with wheels over the corn backwards and forwards, so that the wheels running over it did forcibly shake out the grain. Of this is express mention in Isaiah, where we read that *ophan gnagalah*, the cart wheel was turned about upon some sort of corn: and this in the next verse is called *gilgal gnagalah*, which is the same; and therefore by the vulgar Latin is rendered, both here and in the former place, *rota plaustri*. To this bruising of their corn with loaded carts perhaps that place of

Isa. xxviii. 27.

Amos refers, (although otherwise applied by expositors generally,) which may be rendered thus, *I am pressed under you as a full cart presseth the sheaves, or sheaf:* (for it is in the singular number:) it sets forth the manner of threshing in those days, which was by pressing the ears of corn with a heavy cart, and forcing out the grain, by bringing the wheels often over it. CHAP. LXI. Amos ii. 13.

Another ancient way of threshing was with a wooden slead, or dray without wheels, full of iron nails or teeth, on the side towards the ground, and loaded with massy iron, or some other heavy weights at the top, to make it heavy; and this was drawn by oxen over the corn, till the ears were so pressed, that the grain flew out. This instrument was commonly known (as the Hebrew masters and Talmudists report) by the name of *morag,* and also of *cherutz;* and accordingly it has these names given it, and both of them together we meet with in Isaiah, where it is translated by us *a sharp threshing instrument;* and in the same place it is said to have teeth, which plainly refers to the aforesaid make of it; and shews that this great wooden plank was set at the bottom with iron teeth, or spikes, to cut the sheaves, and make way for the grain to come out: and to these iron nails or teeth, the prophet Amos refers, where this sort of country tackling is called *threshing instruments of iron.* Upon the whole, it appears that the instrument wherewith husbandmen at this day break the clods of earth was used heretofore (when they had not attained any great skill in these affairs) in threshing the corn; for by the description that is given of it, it seems to have been a kind of harrow. Isa. xxviii. 27. 2 Sam. xxiv. 22. Amos i. 3.

BOOK VI. They threshed with oxen, who with their hoofs (which for that purpose were generally shod with iron or brass) were used to tread out the corn, and sometimes they brought in a whole herd of oxen to trample upon it. This way of threshing is referred
Deut. xxv. 4. to, when they were forbidden *to muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.* And this is plainly alluded
Hos. x. 11. to in Hosea, *Ephraim is a heifer that is taught,*
Micah iv. 12, 13. *and loveth to tread out the corn;* and in Micah, *He shall gather them as sheaves into the floor,* (that is, *to be threshed.*) *Arise and thresh, I will make thy hoofs brass, and thou shalt beat in pieces.*

Another method of threshing was that which is now in use with us, that is, with flails; some sort of grain and seeds were beaten out with this *flagella,* (for this is the word whence the English one comes,)
Isa. xxviii. 27. as is clear from Isaiah, *The fetches was beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod;* and generally bread-corn was thus threshed. Of this nature
Judges vi. 11. was Gideon and Araunah's threshing of wheat, for it is represented as their personal action, and those general terms *chabat* and *dash* (the words in those places) favour this sense; and in the former text,
1 Chron. xxi. 20. *threshing* is rendered by ῥαβδίζων in the version of the Septuagint, which signifies beating with staves, sticks, or rods.

Sometimes they used the feet of horses to tread out the corn, as may be gathered from the scripture
Isa. xxviii. 28. in Isaiah, *He will not ever be threshing it, nor break it with the wheel of his cart, nor bruise it with his horsemen.* These threshingfloors were places of great note among the old Hebrews, particularly that of Araunah the Jebusite, which was
2 Sam. xxiv. 25. the spot of ground made choice of by king David to

build the altar of God upon; and this was the very place where the temple of Solomon was afterwards erected. These floors were covered at the top, to keep off the rain, but lay open on all sides, that the wind might come in freely, for the winnowing of the corn; which being done, I suppose, they were shut up at night, with doors fitted to them, that if any body lay there, he might be kept warm, and the corn be secured from the danger of robbers: the time of winnowing, or separating the corn from the chaff, was in the evening, when the heat of the day was over, and cool breezes began to rise; for this purpose they had the same implements which are in common use, for Isaiah speaks of winnowing *with the shovel and with the fan*, and God pronounces by his prophet Amos, that he *will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.*

CHAP. LXI.

2 Chron. iii. 1.

Ruth iii. 6.

Ruth iii. 2.

Isa. xxx. 24.

Amos ix. 9.

When the corn was to be made use of, they laid it open to the sun to dry, or they dried it by a fire, or in a furnace, to get off the husk; and this dried or parched corn itself, without any further preparation, was a great food in those eastern countries. This, as the rabbins say, was first soaked in water, and then dried, as barley is malted among us at this day; but generally the drying and parching of the corn were to make it more capable of being ground.

The manner of grinding was either in mortars or in mills; that both of these were in use appears by the text, where we read of *rechuim, mills*, and *medacah, a mortar*. In this latter they were used *pinsere*, (for from the Jews this practice descended

Numb. xi. 8.

BOOK VI. to the Romans,) *to pound* or *bray* their corn; whence *bakers*, who did this in order to make their bread, had their name *pistores*: that they used of old to beat and bruise their wheat in a mortar with a heavy pestle may be collected from the Proverbs, where this hollow vessel is called *mactesh*. But mills were chiefly made use of for this purpose in those early times; and they were of such use and necessity, that men were strictly forbidden to take *the nether or the upper millstone to pledge*, because it was taking a man's life. The grinding at mills was counted an inferior sort of work, and therefore prisoners and captives were generally set to it; whence, *to take millstones and grind meal* is part of the description of a slave; and to this refers Samson's grinding in the prison house: for of old time there were mills in the prisons, (whence *pistrinum* is used both for a mill and a prison,) and the prisoners were used by grinding to earn their living and procure themselves food; however, this was counted a very laborious and slavish employment: and this was in use, not only among the Jews and Philistines, but the Egyptians also; and thence there is mention of *the maidservant behind the mill*, that is, thrusting it forward with her arm. So among the Chaldeans, the young men, the captives of Judæa, were taken by them to grind, but for the most part the women servants were employed in this drudgery, as is deducible from the Gospel; women are said to be *grinding at the mill*, whilst the men are *in the field*. Therefore Buxtorf observes, that the word for *grinders* is *resosheth*, of the feminine gender, to note that grinding was usually women's work. These mills which they

Prov. xxvii. 22.

Deut. xxiv. 6.

Isa. xlvii. 2.

Judges xvi. 21.

Exod. xi. 5.

Lam. v. 13.

Mat. xxiv. 41.

Lex. Chald. p. 586.

used in those days were hand-mills, and therefore, before the invention of others that go with greater force, they first dried their corn, (as I mentioned before,) that they might grind it with the greater ease. CHAP. LXI.

CHAP. LXII.

Of vineyards and oliveyards.

IT is supposed, that before the flood mankind were accustomed to eat grapes, but drank no wine (unless the offspring of Cain may be said to have debauched themselves with it, of whom it is recorded in the Gospel, that *they drank*). The first planter of a regular vineyard was Noah, who, apprehending how seasonable the benefit of wine would be at that time, when the flood had chilled the earth and air, and made every thing look bleak and dismal, set vines in the warm place where his dwelling was. He made choice of a proper soil for them, for Armenia is noted for an excellent ground for vines, and the vines of that place are celebrated by historians. And now when the good old man had taken this pains, and skilfully ordered that generous fruit by pressing out the juice, he began to taste the product of his labours, which happened to be with ill success; for he had chosen so excellent a spot of ground, and had so richly cultivated it, that the liquor proved too potent and active for his brain, so that through the heat of the weather and of the wine, he threw off his clothes, and *was uncovered in his tent.* Luke xvii. 27. Gen. ix. 20.

It was ordained by the law of Moses, that they should not sow their vineyards with divers seeds, which, without doubt, was an idolatrous custom, as Deut. xxii. 9. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 37.

BOOK VI. the reason given against it plainly shows. Maimonides says, that he found it written in a book of the Zabii, that these three things, wheat, barley, and grapes dried in the sun, should be sown together in the ground with one and the same cast of the hand, which was so senseless a thing, that he could not but think they learnt it from the ways of the Amorites, as his words are, that is, from the wicked idolaters of the country to which the Israelites were going when this law was given; for wheat being sown properly at one season of the year, and barley at another, and a vineyard being an improper place for the growth of either of them, this custom could not have its original either from God or from man, but from the Devil, the author of confusion, who perhaps taught them this uncouth rite, in honour of Ceres and Bacchus, whom they joined in the same act of worship. If the Israelites had followed this custom, it would have made the corn and the grapes that sprung up from such seed impure, because polluted by idolatry, the very smell of which, says Maimonides, God would not have to remain among them. Besides, it was unlawful for the Hebrews to eat any of the fruits of the earth, till the firstfruits of them had been offered to God, which would not have been accepted by him of such things that were expressly forbidden by his law, and consequently the whole crop became unclean to them, and might not be used by them.

Numb. xiii. 23. The land of Palestine abounded with generous wine, and the clusters of grapes, especially in the southern part of the country, were of an extraordinary bigness, so that the spies who were sent to search the land of Canaan, bore one cluster between

two on their shoulders upon a staff. In confirmation of this, Forster in his Hebrew dictionary asserts, that there was a preacher at Norimberg called Achaicus, who lived as a monk eight years in the Holy Land, who told him upon his sick bed, that in his time there were clusters of grapes at Hebron of such a size, that one single kernel was sufficient to quench his thirst for a whole day, when he lay sick there of a tympany. The time of vintage was a season of joy and feasting, and it was denounced as a curse upon the land of Moab, that in their vineyards *there should be no singing, neither shall there be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage shouting to cease.* And it is recorded of the men of Shechem, *that they gathered their vineyards, and trod the grapes, and made merry.* Their mirth consisted in plentiful entertainments, in dances with music and songs: which was a practice used among the Greeks in honour of Bacchus, when they pressed out the grapes.

CHAP. LXII.

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Isa. xvi. 10.

Judg. ix. 27.

Spencer de Leg. Hebr. lib. iii. Dissert. 1.

It was a curse pronounced upon the Israelites, that upon their disobedience *they should plant vineyards and dress them, but they should neither drink of the wine, nor eat the grapes, for the worms should eat them.* It seems there is a peculiar sort of worms that infest the vines, called by the Latins *volvox* and *convolvulus*, because it wraps and rolls itself up in the buds, and eats the grapes up, when they grow towards a ripeness, as the Roman authors explain it.

Deut. xxviii. 39.

Bochart. Hieroz. p. iii. lib. iv. c. 27.

Besides other fruits that were common in Judæa, as dates, figs, pomegranates, they had regular plantations of olives; and among the judgments with

BOOK VI. which God threatened the Israelites for their sins, it was denounced, that *though they had olive-trees through all their coasts, yet they should not anoint themselves with the oil, for the olive should cast her fruit;* being blasted (as the Jerusalem Targum explains it) in the very blossom, the buds should drop off for want of rain, or the fruit should be eaten with worms. Maimonides observes, that the idolaters in those countries pretended by certain magical arts to preserve all manner of fruit, so that the worms should not gnaw the vines, nor either buds or fruits fall from the trees (as he relates their words out of one of their books): therefore, to deter the Israelites from all idolatrous practices, Moses pronounces, that they should draw upon themselves those very punishments which they endeavoured by such means to avoid.

Deut. xxviii. 40.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 37.

The fruit of trees that were planted for food was to be accounted impure for the three first years, which command in the Levitical law is understood by some Jews to refer only to the vine, which, say they, if it be not cut for some time, its grapes are not so large, nor the wine so good, nor fit to be offered at the altar. But Moses expressly mentions *all manner of trees for food*, and therefore there can be no pretence for this limitation; and a very good account, as Nachmanides observes, may be given of this prohibition, if we have respect only to natural reason; for young trees grow better if they are stript of their fruit, the juice, which is waterish and unconcocted, having neither a pleasant smell nor taste, and therefore not proper for food, and upon that account not fit to be offered as the firstfruits to God.

See vol. i. b. 2. ch. 8.

Levit. xix. 23.

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But besides all this, Maimonides asserts, that there was an idolatrous custom among the Zabii to which this law of Moses may reasonably be thought to be opposed; for they imagined all trees would be blasted, or their fruit fall off, whose firstfruit was not offered in their idol temples, and the other part eaten there. And therefore God commanded his people to forbear to eat the fruit of any tree till the fourth year, and not doubt of the fruitfulness of their plantations, though they did not consecrate the fruit of the foregoing years after the manner that the Gentiles did. The fruit of the fourth year was to be offered as the firstfruit to God, and for their obedience to this precept he promises they should lose nothing by staying till the fifth year for the fruit of their trees, for by forbearing so long their trees should be the more exceeding fruitful; and therefore, says Maimonides, they were sure to receive abundant increase, though they did not use the wicked arts which the Zabii did; for it was their custom to let certain things lie till they are putrified, and, when the sun was in such a degree, to sprinkle them about the trees, which they had planted, using certain magical ceremonies, by which they fancied flowers and fruits would be produced sooner than they could have been without these practices.

More Nev. p. iii. c. 37.

CHAP. LXIII.

Of the feeding of cattle.

THE riches of the old Hebrews consisted in flocks and herds, and very much cattle, that is, in camels, in oxen, and black cattle, in goats and sheep, and

BOOK VI. asses; to look after them was the business of the ancient patriarchs and of their children, their daughters not being exempted from taking charge of them, whose office it was to water them, and tend them in their pasture. They were very expert in this profession, and Jacob particularly gave a nice testimony of his skill when he bargained with Laban his father-in-law about the hire he was to have for taking care of his cattle. The contract stood thus:

Gen. xxx. 27, &c.

He was to separate all the sheep and goats, and then out of those that were of one colour he was to have all that should prove hereafter to be spotted or speckled. Now this was a thing so unlikely to happen, that Laban greedily embraced the motion, thinking that white or black cattle would bring forth none but such as were like themselves. This separation being made, it would appear, that if Jacob had any spotted, they were not taken from Laban's flocks, but given by God as a reward of his honest diligence. Laban therefore went and separated the spotted cattle from the rest, and then, lest Jacob should procure any of them to mix with those of one colour, he committed them to his own sons, to be set apart by themselves; he removed them to the distance of three days' journey, that none might be in danger to stray to the cattle which were fed by Jacob, unto whose care were committed all that had no spots at all.

Now Jacob, to obtain his purpose, made use of three artifices. The first was this: he procured some rods of green poplar, and of the hazel (or rather of the almond) and chestnut tree, and peeled off the bark from the rods, till the white appeared between the bark, which was of a different colour. These rods,

thus discoloured, he laid in the channels of water at that time when the cattle were used to couple; that their fancies might be painted with such divers colours as they saw in the rods. The Greek fathers ascribe this to the miraculous operation of God, as Bochart observes; but the Latin fathers, particularly St. Jerome, look upon it as done by the natural working of the imagination. For which he alleges the like practice followed in Spain among horses and mares, and brings Quintilian and Hippocrates to justify the like conceptions in women, which he supports with a great number of authorities out of Galen and other writers, who have observed indelible marks to have been impressed upon children, by the objects that were presented to the mother's fancy at the time of her conception. St. Austin asserts, that the Egyptians by the like device with this of Jacob's had still a new apis or pied bull, to succeed that which died, to whom they gave divine honour. But whatever power there might be in natural imagination to produce such effects, it must be confessed, that God gave an extraordinary blessing to this contrivance, as appears by the vision which Jacob says he had, wherein God (who had directed him to this invention) promised to give it success.

Hierozoicon, p. i. lib. ii. c. 9.

Gen. xxxi. 10, 11, 12.

This stratagem took effect: those young cattle (whether lambs or kids) which were brought forth spotted, he did not suffer to remain with the flock of Laban, lest he should say he did him wrong by letting them mix together, and so bring spotted cattle, (and perhaps he might think also that they looking upon Laban's one-coloured cattle might bring forth young ones like to them.) But instead

BOOK VI. of this way of enriching himself he had a second artifice, which was to put the spotted cattle (produced by the former device) foremost, so that Laban's flock should always look upon them, and thereby be the more apt to conceive the like. Those which brought forth spotted by this second artifice he also put by themselves, and suffered them not to be mingled with Laban's cattle, as before he had separated those that were brought forth spotted, by looking upon the rods.

Bochart. Hieroz. p. i. lib. ii. c. 46.

This was the third device, which is thus expounded by the Chaldee, and many other authors: he laid the rods before the cattle only in the spring time, when the sun was ascending, and the cattle lusty and vigorous; but let them alone, when the cattle came together in September, or the declension of the year, (for they bred twice a year in those countries,) at which time they were become more feeble. If he had always laid the rods before the cattle, there might have been none but spotted, and so Laban have been quite impoverished; therefore he chose to do it in their first and prime copulation, which was in the spring time, and omitted in the latter, which was in the autumn. Our famous Mr. Mede follows this interpretation. But there is no certainty in it; for Pliny and Columella prefer those begot in autumn to those begot in the spring; and therefore our translation is most proper, which represents Jacob using this artifice of laying the rods before them when the stronger cattle came together, and not when the weaker. And so the Seventy understood the words, without respect to the former or latter breed, and this is the proper sense of the Hebrew. Some have made it a question,

Discourse 45.

whether Jacob got his stock of cattle honestly, because Laban did not think of his using any art, but only of bare casual productions; but as what was not directly against the contract may be thought to be allowed by it, so it is certain that Jacob might lawfully take what God bestowed upon him, who seems to have directed him by an angel to this artifice, or at least testified his approbation of it: intending to transfer unto Jacob the wealth of Laban, as he gave the riches of the Egyptians to the Israelites; for the world is his, and the fulness thereof, and he may dispose of every thing in it as he pleases.

There was nothing particular in the pastoral art, as exercised by the Hebrews, from the common practice of the present times. It was the custom with them, as it is with us at the time of sheep-shearing, to make a feast, and to invite their kindred and friends to it, which appears sufficiently from the story of Absalom; for in those countries where they had vast flocks, sheepshearing was a kind of harvest, which made that time to be observed with great joy, whence the servants of David said to Nabal, that they were come to him *on a good day*, for he was shearing his sheep. 2 Sam. xiii. 23. 1 Sam. xxv. 8.

The Hebrews were commanded by the law *not to let their cattle gender with a diverse kind*, as horses with asses, goats with sheep; but if they came together of themselves, it was lawful to use such heterogeneous creatures as were so produced: for they did not abhor the use of mules, which were either accidentally begotten among them, or brought to them from other countries. The reason commonly given by the Jews for this precept, is, because God Lev. xix. 19.

BOOK VI. having made all things perfect in their kind, it was a presumptuous attempt to go about to mend his creation, and add to his works. By this means also, men were deterred from unnatural mixtures, which they saw to be abominable in brutes. But after all, there might possibly be a respect in this precept to some idolatrous customs, which Moses intended to prevent or abolish; for it is supposed that the Gentiles were used at this time, or in after-ages, to procure such mixtures of creatures in honour of their gods.

Gen. xlvi. 34. When Joseph was going to introduce his father and his brethren to the Egyptian court, he instructs them to say that they were shepherds, that they might be separated from the Egyptians, and be seated together in the land of Goshen; which was a country abounding with pasturage, and next adjoining to Canaan, unto which they might the more easily return when the time came. Upon this occasion the sacred writer remarks, that every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians, which text has given much trouble to expositors. Cunæus, I think, has given the most reasonable account of it, whose words I shall translate, and with which I shall conclude this book. "A third part of the people lived "at a distance, in the plains of Egypt, and in the "marshes; these were the shepherds, active and "able men, but execrable to all the Egyptians, be- "cause they would not suffer them to be secure in "their idle course of life: these often made great "commotions, and sometimes created kings for "themselves, wherefore the Romans in after-times, "when they easily held the rest of Egypt in obedi- "ence, placed a strong garrison in all these parts.

De Rep. Heb. lib. i. c. 4.

" When you have taken the most exact view in all
" things, you will find this was the reason that
" made the Egyptians, even from the first, so ill
" affected unto shepherds, because those sedentary
" men and opificers could not endure their fierce
" and active spirits. Pharaoh himself, when he had
" decreed to abate and depress the growing multi-
" tude of the Israelites, speaks to his subjects in this
" manner; *The Israelites are stronger than we, let*
" *us deal wisely, that they increase not, lest when*
" *war ariseth they join themselves unto our enemies,*
" *and take up arms against us.* That opinion I
" think to be true, nor can I assent to them that
" impute the cause of this public hatred to their
" superstition, as if the Hebrews, keepers of flocks
" and herds, could not be suffered by that nation,
" who reverenced some sheep, some goats, some
" other four-footed beasts; being persuaded there
" was in them something of divinity. But this
" reason is very improbable, for what will they an-
" swer, when either they shall learn out of the Pen-
" tateuch that Pharaoh had innumerable flocks of
" sheep, or when they shall see so many monuments
" of histories to be produced, making it evident that
" a considerable part of the Egyptians lived in pas-
" tures, and among cattle? and yet is that saying
" notable in scripture, All shepherds are hated by
" the Egyptians: this could not be said of husband-
" men, nor indeed could their valour (which was
" none at all) be feared or hated; for the lazy
" clowns had all their hopes placed, not in the in-
" dustrious manuring of the ground, but in the river
" Nile. The overflowing stream nourished and in-

BOOK VI. " creased their corn, nor did it bring only fruitful-
" ness to the earth, but earth itself; for being ex-
" ceeding muddy, it enlarged the fields, and by a
" yearly addition stretched out the boundaries of
" their land."

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Of astronomy among the Hebrews.

THE science of astronomy was studied and improved by the ancient Hebrews; and wherever this knowledge has prevailed, the invention of it is owing to the most early ancestors of that people. Seth, one of the sons of Adam, and his children, were the first who understood the order and motion of the heavenly bodies. This patriarch, says Josephus, was under the tuition of his father; and so soon as ever he was able to distinguish between good and evil, he delivered himself up wholly to the study of virtue. He proved a wonderful man; and his children were the lively images of so excellent a father. They were all of them well bred and well disposed: they lived happily and peaceably with respect to the public, and in a perfect agreement one with another. These were the first that made their observations upon the motions of the heavens, the courses and influences of the stars. And having been foretold by Adam of an universal deluge and conflagration to come, they erected two pillars, one of brick, and the other of stone; which they were sure would be proof, one or the other of them, against either fire or water. Upon these pillars they engraved the memorials of their discoveries and inventions, there to remain for the benefit of ages to come, and lest

CHAP. I.

Antiq. lib. i. c. 3.

BOOK VII. the tradition of the science should be lost for want of a record. This they did; and their foresight and providence was not in vain, for the stone pillar is yet to be seen in Syria to this very day.

Abraham, among other accomplishments, was completely skilled in these studies. He was the first, says the Jewish historian, that adventured to preach up the doctrine of one God, the Almighty maker and creator of all things in heaven and earth. This he argued from the orderly course of things, both at sea and land, in their times and seasons; and from his observation upon the motions and influences of the sun, moon, and stars; insomuch, that without an overruling and administering Providence to keep the wheel a going, the whole frame of the universe must drop into confusion. And in the next chapter he informs us, that this patriarch, when he was in Egypt, read lectures of astronomy and arithmetic; which sciences the Egyptians understood nothing of, till Abraham brought them from Chaldea into Egypt; and from thence they passed to the Greeks.

Antiq. lib. i. c. 8.

Philo, in a treatise that he wrote of the life of Moses, relates, that this great lawgiver was well acquainted with the knowledge of the stars, which he learned from the Chaldeans and Egyptians; and was particularly expert in the mathematics. The names of the stars, as they were called by astronomers, were known to Job, who, in celebrating the greatness, the power, and the majesty of God, produces this as one of his mighty works, that *He maketh Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the chambers of the south.* If we believe the author of the Book of Wisdom, Solomon understood perfectly the motion and influ-

Lib. ii.

Job ix. 9.

ence of the celestial bodies: he knew *how the world was made, and the operation of the elements: the beginning, ending, and midst of the times: the alterations of the turning of the sun, and the change of seasons: the circuits of years, and the positions of stars—and the violence of winds.* And the prophet Amos advises the idolatrous Jews to *seek him that maketh the seven stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into the morning.* CHAP. I. Wisdom vii. 17, 18, &c. Amos v. 8.

The hypothesis, that was laid down by the Hebrews of old for their astronomical observations, and the particular improvements and discoveries that they made in this science, are scarce possible to be found out at this remote distance; only it may be observed, that it seems to have been a fixed principle among them, (contrary to the scheme of some modern astronomers,) that the sun moved, and the earth stood still. This appears from the miracle wrought by Joshua, in the battle with the five kings of the Amorites; who, that he might have full time to complete his victory, commanded the sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon upon the valley of Ajalon. Many are the subtleties of the rabbins in descanting upon this stupendous event; as, in what sign the sun now was; whether the moon was in her increase or decrease; and how many hours the sun stood still; with many other niceties, equally important. The truth seems to be, that Joshua desired that the sun might stand immovable in that part of the heavens where he saw it now shining, upon Gibeon: for though the text says, that *the sun stood still in the midst of heaven,* it does not necessarily follow that the sun stood precisely in the meridian point, but that it appeared visibly to every Joshua x. 12.

BOOK VII. body fixed in the same place where it was when Joshua commanded it to stand still. The moon stood over Ajalon: there were many places of that name, but this, it is supposed, was in the tribe of Dan, and lay furthest from Gibeon; for we must suppose these two places to have been at some distance; otherwise Joshua could not have seen the sun and moon both appear at the same time; as it is probable they were both now in his eye when he spoke upon this occasion. The space of time that they stood fixed, the text says, was *about a whole day;* which shews how ungrounded is the explication of Maimonides upon this passage, who understands it only as the longest day in summer; which was a poor business, it being now summer-time, when this miracle was wrought, and, as Lyra thinks, in the month of June.

More Nevoch. p. xi. c 35.

The learned Spanhemius excellently notes, that what the poets only fancied might be, was really done in the days of Joshua: for Callimachus represents the sun as stopping the wheels of his chariot, to behold a chorus of nymphs, which so highly pleased him, that it made him prolong the day. That great critic wishes that Grotius had not followed some of the Jews, who made the expression in the text to be no more than a poetical phrase, to express a long summer's day; for the prophet Habakkuk represents it otherwise, and says, that *the sun and moon stood still in their habitation.* And this is the opinion of most of the Talmudic doctors. Our Dr. Jackson observes, that the heathen people of those times did note this miraculous event, and deliver the tradition of it to their posterity, who, as men are wont to do, endeavour to assign some cause

Verse 181, 182.

Hab. iii. 11

Book i. on the Creed, c. 15.

of it. And the poets, in the ages following, ascribe it with some additions unto that unnatural murder which Atreus committed, at which the heavens blushed, and the sun stood still: for this bloody fact, if Statius mistakes not, was in the time of the Theban war, and that is placed by good chronologers about the time of Joshua's conquest of Canaan. But this judicious writer was in this particular deceived; for Atreus lived in the days of the Judges. CHAP. I.

CHAP. II.

The method of measuring time. Of hours, days, and weeks.

THE feast of the passover was always celebrated by the Hebrews after the equinox of the spring, on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, when the moon is in the full. This law was enjoined by God himself; for when the people came out of Egypt he changed the order of the times, and appointed the month Nisan, which answers to those of March and April, to be the first of the year, that the deliverance he wrought for his people might be more exactly remembered; but this change related only to the feasts of the church. The day of the passover had been fixed by the law; but as the months were lunary, and it was necessary to make them quadrate with the course of the sun, the men of learning, in most ages, have interested themselves in this subject, and have offered abundance of conjectures upon the occasion. That we may the better therefore distinguish the times, it will be proper to examine, first, into the hours, secondly, the days, thirdly, the weeks, and fourthly, into the years of the Jews.

BOOK VII. We are accustomed to see night and day divided into equal hours; and this custom seems so natural and easy, that we are apt to think it never was otherwise: but yet this division is of no very ancient date, and the politest nations were a long time ignorant of it. It is supposed that the hours and dials began to be first known by the Greeks a little before Alexander the Great, since neither the comical poets, as Menander, nor the philosophers, as Plato, ever speak of the hours, but to indicate the seasons. They divided the day into three parts, the morning, noon, and twilight of the evening. The Romans had only morning and evening; and noon divided the two extremes. They measured the time by the feet from the shadow of the body; and in this manner the peasants can tell the hour of the day, without dial and clock, by the shadow of their cottages. The difference of great or little bodies made none at all in the hours, because the feet are always proportioned to the stature. And thus it was that Pythagoras measured the height of Hercules by his footstep, which he had imprinted upon the sand in the Olympic games. They reckoned up to twenty foot of shadow, and vindicated their appointments and mealtimes by such a foot, as we distinguish them at present by the hours. And hereby we are to understand the raillery of a comical poet upon a man who had been invited to dinner at the shadow of twelve feet, and who, for fear of being disappointed, rose before day, and took the shadow of the moon for that of the sun.

It is certain, that the Romans knew nothing of hours and dials till the first Punic war. It was Messala, who, returning from Sicily, after the taking

of Catapa, brought one of them with him, and erected it in a public place. CHAP. II.

The ancient Hebrews, as well as the Greeks, divided the day only according to the three sensible differences of the sun: when it rises; when it is at the highest point of elevation above the horizon; and when it sets; that is, they divided the day only into morning, noon, and night. And these are the only parts of a day we find mentioned in the Old Testament. The day with them began at sunset, and ended the next day at the same time. When the Jews came under the dominion of the Romans, they learned from their conquerors to divide the day into four parts; the beginnings whereof were notified by the sound of the trumpet, because then they resumed afresh their devotions and sacred exercises. The first of these four portions was from six o'clock in the morning till nine; the second from nine till twelve; the third from twelve till three; and the fourth from that time in which they made the offering till six. They seldom counted the hours that passed between these divisions, at least they are very seldom mentioned. The Samaritans and the other modern Jews, in civil matters, follow the distinction of hours received in the countries where they live; but they have still their hours consecrated to prayer and divine service. They divide each hour into a thousand and four hundred scruples, and they reckon eighteen scruples to each minute.

The Hebrews likewise distinguish between two evenings; the first began at noon, when the sun begins to decline, and reached to its setting; the second began at that setting; and they call the space of time between these two, that is, from

BOOK VII. noon to sunset, the ninth hour, or between the two evenings.

Judges vii. 19. The night was originally divided by the Hebrews, and other eastern nations, into three parts; and accordingly there were three watches set; when the first third part was ended, they that had watched went to sleep, and another company succeeded them till the morning watch. The Romans, and the Jews from them, afterwards divided the night into four parts; from whence we read in the Gospel of the *fourth watch.* The first of these four parts of the night began at sunset and lasted till nine at night, according to our way of reckoning; the second lasted till midnight; the third till three in the morning; and the fourth ended at sun-rising.

The difficulty is not near so great concerning days as hours. They are divided into three sorts; first, the *natural,* which contains both night and day. Moses introduces God speaking in this notion, when he says, that he sanctified all the firstborn of the children of Israel for himself, on the day that he smote the firstborn of Egypt; when it is certain that he struck that fatal blow in the night, whilst they were asleep; and destruction came *whilst they thought themselves secure.* This natural day began with the evening at sunset, because of the new moon; the feast whereof was to be celebrated after the seeing its crescent. The modern Jews preserve the same custom, and begin the celebration of their feasts with the evening.

The second day, which was called *artificial,* consisted of twelve hours, and began in the morning at sun-rising, at six o'clock, and ended at sun-setting.

The third day is called *prophetical;* and it has

this title, because it is mentioned only by the prophets. It is taken for a year in the scriptures. They had likewise prophetical weeks, which consisted of seven years; prophetical months, which made thirty years; and prophetical years, which they reckoned for three hundred and sixty years. CHAP. II.

The Hebrews, like us, make their weeks to consist of seven days; six of which are appointed for labour, and the seventh, which is called the *sabbath*, for rest. But this term *sabbath* is taken sometimes for the whole week; and hence it is that the Pharisee, when he would express his fasting twice in a week, says, that he fasted twice every sabbath. They at first distinguished the days of the week by their number of first, second, third, from the sabbath. But the Hellenists Jews have a particular name for the sixth day, that is, for the vigil of the sabbath, and call it *parasceue*, that is, *the preparation*. The law of the sabbath obliged the Jews to so strict a rest, that they were not suffered to dress their victuals, nor even to light their fires, which obliged them to prepare things on the vigil. And this day had another name among the Jews, who were not Hellenists, for they called it *the vesper of the sabbath*; and this vesper began at the ninth hour, that is, three hours after noon. It was at that time that they began to prepare for the day following; and if they took a journey that day, they took care to be at the end of it before the setting of the sun. And the emperor Augustus, in compliance with their customs, made an edict in their favour, which forbad the bringing of the Jews before any court of justice on Fridays, after the ninth hour of the day. The Jews, that are mingled among Christians, give the

Luke xviii. 12.

BOOK VII. days their planetary names. The Lord's day they call Sunday; some also call it the day of the Nazarenes. The next day is Monday, which, as well as Friday, is set apart for the reading of the law, and the exercises of piety. If you ask them why they prefer these two days before the rest, they answer what Moses relates, that *they journeyed three days and found no water*, that is, they ought not to suffer three days to pass without reading the law, if they expect God should supply them with the necessaries of life.

It is supposed that the distinction of time by weeks was of ancient use in the eastern countries, and that this custom was followed by the patriarchs that lived before the deluge: for it is probable that these patriarchs could not be ignorant that the world was created in six days, and that God rested on the seventh: Adam could not but know it; and so must Lamech, who had conversed for so long time with Adam. And as Noah must needs learn it from his father Lamech, so he did not fail to impart it to his children. From the history of the deluge it is evident, that in Noah's time they computed their days by weeks. Moses tells us, that Noah stayed seven days after he found the waters decrease, and then sent forth a raven and a pigeon; but the dove finding no rest for the sole of her foot, she returned into the ark. Noah having stayed yet seven other days, he sent forth the dove, which returned once more, but with an olive branch in her mouth. Noah stayed seven days longer, and sent forth the dove the third time. It is evident he then acted and judged as we do now, to expect from one week to another, till a matter is brought to maturity. The

history of the marriage of Jacob with the two daughters of Laban may serve for another instance of this nature; for Jacob being imposed upon, because they put Leah upon him instead of Rachel, Laban told him, *Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also.* Moses adds, *And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week.* If this may be interpreted of the week relating to days, as I make no doubt but that it ought, this is an undeniable argument for the antiquity of the weeks, and their establishment in the East long before the time of Moses. The custom of dividing time by weeks, it is probable, was precedent to that of computing it by months and years; for it required some time before men could make due observation of the revolutions of the sun and moon; whereas, being taught by tradition that God had created the world in six days, they might, without the help of astronomy, easily be induced to believe that this number was the most proper and commodious to compute by.

CHAP. III.

Of the Hebrew months.

THE sun and moon being the most considerable of the planets, are the most proper to distinguish time. They have both two different motions: in the first of which they move round the earth, from east to west, in twenty-four hours; and in the second, they move eastward. But their course is unequal; for the sun takes up three hundred sixty-five days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes in his; whereas the moon finishes hers in twenty-seven

BOOK VII. days, seven hours, and some minutes. The circle which she describes, cuts the zodiac (which is that circle which the sun describes in a year) in two places, which are by astronomers called *knots*, and vary every month. And this inequality of motion it is which is the cause that the moon is sometimes directly before the sun, and sometimes at a distance from it. The space between her leaving the sun and rejoining it takes up twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and some minutes; because at the same time that she is making her revolution, the sun likewise is advancing in the zodiac; so that when she is returned to the point of the zodiac, from whence she set out, she has yet all that way to go which the sun has advanced in the mean time, before she can come before it again; and this takes up two days and some hours. The Hebrews call the space between one conjunction and the other *jarea*, and the Greeks, μήν; from whence the Latins have their *mensis*, and we our *months*.

The intervals of time are most easily distinguished by the moon. Now there are three sorts of lunary months: first, the moon spends twenty-seven days and forty-three minutes in running through the zodiac, and returning to the same point she set out from. This is what is called her *period*. Secondly, the moon rejoins the sun, and returns to the same point where she left him. This is what is called the *synod*, or the conjunction of the moon. To make this circuit, she employs twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes. And therefore the ancients, who reckoned their lunary months from this conjunction, had two sorts of months; the one hollow, of twenty-nine days; and the other full, con-

sisting of thirty days. But there was a great defect in their calculation, since they had neglected the forty-four minutes, which exceeded the twelve hours; which minutes being collected together in a long tract of years, threw the moon horribly out of course. CHAP. III.

Many are of opinion that the Jews reckoned their months from the conjunction of the sun and moon: but thirdly, it is much more probable, that they particularly depended upon the rising of the moon, and observed its crescent when it proceeded from the rays of the sun, and that phasis or appearance regulated the feasts and the beginning of the months. And the reasons are, first, because the Caraites, who are the most tenacious bigots of ancient customs, maintain that this was the primitive usage of the nation. Secondly, that the Hebrews coming out of Egypt, and travelling in the desert, were not so well versed and skilled in astronomy as to regulate the course of the moon, and its conjunction with the sun. They made their judgment by their senses, and knew the time of the new moon by seeing it appear. This was the easier to them, because they travelled on the mountains and deserts of Arabia, where the mists that obscure the rising of this luminary are very rare. The Romans did the same thing; for Romulus ordered that every month should begin with the first appearance of the moon. Indeed this caused some inequality in the months; but they afterwards corrected it by experience. It may be said also, that when they had learned astronomy from the Chaldeans, they added the rules of that art to their sense, and made use of them on occasion to rectify the disorders that were crept into their ac- Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 15.

BOOK VII. counts. It is so true, that this was the ancient custom of the Jews, that notwithstanding their present use of astronomical tables and cycles, the Jews still assemble to discover the crescents; and when they perceive it, they make a prayer, in which they call God the creator of the planets, and restorer of the new moon. They lift themselves on tiptoe towards heaven, desire an exemption from all evils, make mention of David, salute one another, and disperse.

Leo de Modena. c. 2.

I have observed, in another place of this work, that the Talmudists have pretended that they used great precautions not to be mistaken about the phasis of the moon; for which purpose they set sentinels on the tops of mountains to discover it the moment it appeared. Those sentinels were select persons, who came in all haste to make their report to the sanhedrim, or high priest, who intimidated them with menaces to oblige them to give the exacter account. He confronted this account with the figures of the moon which were drawn on the walls of his palace; and as soon as he was satisfied that the new moon had appeared, he immediately dispatched a courier to the neighbouring cities, to give them notice to celebrate the feast. But this, upon recollection, seems to have been a fiction of the Jewish doctors, who frequently describe customs that no where appear in any ancient monument. It was impossible that these waiters should make haste enough to give seasonable notice to all the cities of Judæa of the feasts that were to be celebrated during the month: for though they had only gone ten days' journey from Jerusalem, it would have been enough to hinder the celebration of the new moons and many other festivals. They might easily foresee the feast of the

Passover, and promulge it, especially when they in- CHAP. III.
tercalated a month; but they could not give such ready notice for the other feasts after the sight of the new moon. It is therefore much more probable, that without any dependance upon the sanhedrim, and the couriers they sent out, that each city examined the new moon, or caused it to be examined by some wise person, to whom the Caraites gave the honorary title of prophet. Each city had its sentries, and determined itself by their reports.

The Hebrews did not originally admit of lunary months. By a strict examination into the history of Noah, we shall find that the year at that time consisted of three hundred and sixty days, and the months of thirty; for Moses reckons a hundred and fifty days whilst the rain fell, from the seventh of the second month to the seventh of the seventh month: it rained therefore for five entire months. By dividing these five months into thirty days, you will find the hundred and fifty mentioned by Moses. Besides, it may be supposed that in Noah's days they had not sufficiently studied the course of the moon to distinguish the six hollow and six full months, by reason of the twelve hours the moon employs beyond the twenty-nine days to rejoin the sun. They were not then so exact; and this fraction of the calculations came not in till many years after.

In process of time the Hebrews computed by lunar months that were set out by the phasis or appearance of the moon; when they saw their new moon, then they began their months, which sometimes consisted of twenty-nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as the new moon did sooner or later ap-

BOOK VII. pear. The reason of this was, because the synodical course of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon being twenty-nine days and a half, the half day, which a month of twenty-nine days fell short of, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of thirty days; so that their months consisted of twenty-nine days and thirty days alternatively. None of them had fewer than twenty-nine days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon before the night following the twenty-ninth day; and if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than thirty days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer: and of twelve of these months their common year consisted.

CHAP. IV.

Of their years.

THE Jews had four sorts of years; one for plants, another for beasts, a third for religion and the church, and the fourth was civil, and common to all the inhabitants of Judæa. The year of plants was reckoned from the month of January, because they paid tithe-fruits of the trees that budded at that time. The second year was that of beasts; for when they tithed the lambs, the owner drove all the flock under a rod, and they marked the tenth, which was given to the Levites: but they could only take

those which fell in the year, and this year began at the month Elul, which was the sixteenth of August. But the two years that are most known are the civil and ecclesiastic. CHAP. IV.

The civil began the fifteenth of September, because it was an old tradition that the world was created at that time. From this year they reckoned their jubilees, dated all contracts, and noted the birth of children, and the reign of kings. It is said also that this month was appointed for making war, because the great heats being over, they then went into the field. David sent Joab at the head of all Israel, to destroy the Ammonites, at the time *when kings go forth to battle*, that is, in the month of September.

The ecclesiastical year began in March, or the first of Nisan, because that was the time of their coming out of Egypt. From thence they reckoned their feasts; and from this the prophets sometimes dated their visions and oracles: for Zachary says Zech. vii. 1. the word of the Lord came to him in the ninth month in Chisleu. This month answered to that of November; and so the prophet went by the ecclesiastical year, which began in March. The month Nisan is noted in scripture by *the overflowings of Jordan*, which were common, because it was swelled by the snows of mount Libanus, which melted at that time.

The year being lunary, and composed of three hundred and fifty-four days, there was a necessity of reconciling it with the course of the sun, in order that their festivals might be duly celebrated. Now twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, every one of those common years began

BOOK VII. eleven days sooner than the former; and this in thirty-three years' time would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons, to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning, as is now done in Turkey, where this sort of year is in use. To remedy this inconvenience, their method was, sometimes in the third year and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; by which means they constantly reduced their lunar year, as far as such an intercalation could effect it, to that of the sun, and never suffered the one for any more than a month at any time to vary from the other.

This the Jews were obliged to do for the sake of their festivals; for their feast of the Passover (the first day of which was always fixed to the middle of their month Nisan) being to be celebrated by their eating of the paschal lamb, and the offering up of the wave sheaf, as the firstfruits of their barley-harvest; and their feast of Pentecost, which was kept the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of Nisan, (which was the day when the wave sheaf was offered,) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave-loaves, as the firstfruits of their wheat harvest; and their feast of Tabernacles, which was always begun on the fifteenth of Tisri, being fixed to the time of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth, the Passover could not be observed till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the Pentecost till the wheat was ripe; nor the feast of Tabernacles till the ingatherings of the vineyard and oliveyard were over: and therefore these festivals being fixed to these set seasons of the year,

the making of the intercalation above mentioned was necessary for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. Their rule for the doing of this was, whenever, according to the course of the common year, the fifteenth of Nisan (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their paschal solemnity) happened to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the paschal solemnity was thereby carried on a month further into the year, and all the other festivals with it; for according as the paschal festival was fixed, so were all the rest, that is, the Pentecost fifty days after the second day of the paschal feast, (that is, the sixteenth of Nisan,) on which the wave sheaf was offered, and the feast of Tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said paschal feast; for as the first day of the paschal feast was the fifteenth of Nisan, (the fourteenth on the evening of which the solemnity began, in the slaying of the paschal lambs, being but the eve of the passover,) so the first day of the feast of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth of Tisri, just six months after.

CHAP. IV.

Talmud. in Rosh. Hashanah.

To make this the more clear, let it be observed that the Hebrew months were as they follow:

1. Nisan	March, April.	7. Tisri	September, October.
2. Iyar	April, May.	8. Marchesvan	October, November.
3. Sivan	May, June.	9. Chisleu	November, December.
4. Tamuz	June, July.	10. Tebeth	December, January.
5. Ab	July, August.	11. Shebat	January, February.
6. Elul	August, September.	12. Adar	February, March.

BOOK VII.

The thirteenth month, called Veadar, or the second Adar, answered chiefly to our March, it being then intercalated, or cast in, when the beginning of Nisan would otherwise be carried back into the end of February.

Those twelve months made their common year; but in their intercalated year, it consisted of thirteen months. Supposing, therefore, their vernal equinox should have been on the tenth of March, (whereabout now it is,) and that the fifteenth of Nisan, the first day of their Passover, should, in the common course of their year, happen to fall on the ninth of March, the day before the equinox; then, on their foreseeing of this, they intercalated a month, and after their Adar added their Veadar, which sometimes consisted of twenty-nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as it happened. At present we will suppose it to be of thirty days, and then the first of Nisan, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the twenty-third of February, (as otherwise it would,) must be carried on thirty days forward, to the twenty-fifth of March, and their Passover to the eighth of April following. But the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the first of Nisan must then have happened on the fourteenth of March, and the first day of the Passover on the twenty-eighth of the same month. And the next year after that the first of Nisan must, for the same reason, have happened on the third of March, and the first day of the Passover on the seventeenth of March. And the next year after that, according to this calculation, the first of Nisan would have happened on the twentieth of February, and the first day of the

Passover on the sixth day of March following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month Veadar must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the first of Nisan, which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before or fifteen days after the vernal equinox, that is, within the compass of thirty days in the whole, sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginning of all their other months, and all the fasts and feasts observed in them. CHAP. IV.

This inartificial way of forming their months and years was in use only among the Jews, who lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter, by those who had the care and ordering of it. But when after the time of Alexander the Great they were dispersed through all the Grecian colonies in the East, and had in great numbers settled at Alexandria, Antioch, and other cities of Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Syria, and Lesser Asia; under the Syro-Macedonian and Egyptic-Macedonian kings, this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know, at all distant places, when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals, all in one uniform manner, at the same time. How the eastern Jews, who had, ever since the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities, been settled in Babylonia, Persia, Media, and other eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, ordered this matter, is

BOOK VII. uncertain: but since they had in Babylonia a prince called Rosh Gola, that is, the *head of the captivity*, for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other country. It is most probable, therefore, that when the Jews in the dispersions, after the time of Alexander the Great, through the countries I have mentioned, saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the Greeks the cycle or period of Calippus, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the Greeks, reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner as the Jews had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which, by the help of intercalations, the motions of the sun and moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries, setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same; and all the new moons and full moons come over again in every cycle, in the same manner they had in the former; for could such a cycle be once fixed, the observing how the new moons and full moons happened in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for

ever in all cycles after; and there would need no more to be done, than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time when every new moon and full moon should happen therein, through each month of it; because in every year of the said cycle the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time, as they had in the same year of the former cycle; and so in all following cycles for ever. CHAP. IV.

Many have been the attempts of astronomers to find out such a cycle. The first was the invention of the Dieteris, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month; but in two years' time the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty-two days, and a lunar month making twenty-nine days and an half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, overdid it by seven days and an half: which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the Tetraeteris was introduced; which was a cycle of four years, wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights, which was overdone by the like intercalation of the Dieteris. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty-three days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty-nine days and an half, (of which it consists,) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days: which fault soon discovering of itself, for the amending of it they intercalated alternately one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the Octoeteris, or the cycle of eight years; wherein, by intercalating three

BOOK VII. months, they thought they brought all to rights. And indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former cycles; for by this intercalation the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours, and nine minutes. And therefore this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest.

But at length the error, by increasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered, which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it; of which that invented by Meto, a famous astronomer of Athens, is the most perfect. This cycle is called the *enneadecaeteris*, or the cycle of nineteen years, which we style the cycle of the moon; the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient calendars in golden letters, from hence, in our present almanacks, that number of this cycle which accords with the year for which the almanack is made is called the *golden number;* for it is still of great use to the Chistians, for the finding out of Easter, and also to the Jews, for the fixing of their three great festivals. By this cycle of Meto's, invented about four hundred thirty and two years before the birth of Christ, the two luminaries are brought to come about to the same points, within two hours, one minute, and twenty seconds; so that after nineteen years the same new moons and the same full moons do, within that space, come about again into the same points of time, in every year of this cycle, in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years, and seven lunar months, by seven intercalations,

added to them. The years of this cycle, in which these intercalations were made, were the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth, according to Petavius; but according to Mr. Dodwell, they were the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. CHAP. IV.

But Meto having reckoned that the nineteen years of his cycle contained just six thousand nine hundred and forty days, it was found, after an hundred years' usage of it, that in this computation he had overshot what he had aimed at by a quarter of a day; for nineteen Julian years contain no more than six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days and eighteen hours. And therefore, to mend this fault, Calippus invented his cycle, or period of seventy-six years; which consisting of four Metonic cycles joined together, he thought to perfect the matter, by leaving out one day at the end of this cycle, making it to consist of no more than twenty-seven thousand seven hundred fifty-nine days; whereas four Metonic cycles joined together make twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty days.

This Calippus was a famous astronomer of Cyzicus in Mysia, and published his cycle in the year before Christ three hundred and thirty, beginning it from the summer solstice of that year, which was the same year in which Alexander overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela. And this being the cycle which was most in reputation among the Greeks, for bringing the reckonings of the sun and moon's motion to an agreement at that time, when the Jews wanted such a cycle for settling the time of their

BOOK VII. new moons and full moons, and festivals, by certain rules of astronomical calculations, it is most likely they then borrowed it from them for this use; and that they might not seem to have any thing among them relating to their religion which was of heathen usage, they added the Octoeteris to this period of seventy-six years, and by this means making it a cycle of eighty-four years, by this disguise they affected to render it wholly their own. But the Jews by this addition rather spoiled than any way mended the matter; for though the period of Calippus fell short of what it intended, that is, of bringing the motions of the two greater luminaries to an exact agrement, yet it brought them within the reach of five hours and fifty minutes of it: but the addition of the Octoeteris did set them at the distance of one day, six hours, and fifty-one minutes. However, this they used, till rabbi Hillel's reformation of their calendar, which was about the year of our Lord three hundred and sixty; during all which time they must necessarily have made some intercalations for the correcting of those excesses, whereby one of those luminaries did overrun the other, according to that cycle; for otherwise, the phases or appearances of the new moons and full moons would have contradicted the calculations of it to every man's view. But what these intercalations were, or how or when used, we have no account any where given us.

The scheme of rabbi Hillel places within the compass of the nineteen years' cycle seven intercalated years, consisting of thirteen months, and twelve common years, consisting of twelve months. Their intercalated years are, the third, the sixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth,

and the nineteenth of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over they begin another, and so constantly, according to it, fix their new moons, (at which all their months begin,) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be confessed, is very exactly and astronomically construed, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity that is to be found among that people. This rabbi was Nasi, or president of their sanhedrim, and gave this form the authority of his sanction, by virtue of which it has ever since been observed by the Jews, and, they say, is always to be observed till the Messiah comes.

The solar year, (says Abendana in his Jewish calendar,) consisting of three hundred sixty-five days and six hours, is divided into four quarters, each of which they call *tekupha*, that is, *revolution of time*. So that every tekupha contains ninety-one days, seven hours and an half. And the first of these is called *tekuphath Nisan*, commencing in March, at what time the sun enters into Aries. The second, which is *tekuphath Tamuz*, falls out in June, when the sun goes into Cancer. The third, which is *tekuphath Tisri*, begins in September, when the sun enters into Libra. The last, which is *tekuphath Tebeth*, falls in December, at what time the sun goes into Capricorn. The first *tekupha* makes the vernal equinox, the second the summer solstice, the third the autumnal equinox, and the last the winter solstice.

CHAP. V.

The computation of years. The era of the Jews.

BOOK VII. THE computation of time from the creation of the world, now in use among the Jews, is not very ancient, the account being formerly taken from some great event, or remarkable revolution; as particularly from the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, or from such a king's reign: and though in the computation they do not pretend to any perfect exactness, (for many of their doctors are of opinion it should be carried higher,) yet they are contented to follow it, because it is generally received among them.

De Æris, c. 12. Our countryman, Mr. Gregory, in his learned treatise *de Æris et Epochis*, gives this account of the era of the Jews. Alexander the Great, with his Grecian army, marching towards Jerusalem with all intention of hostilities, the high priest and Levites came forth to meet him, all in their holy garments. The king, beholding this reverend assembly, made an approach himself alone, and drawing near to the high priest, fell down and worshipped. The captains, wondering to see the son of Jupiter Ammon, who had given command that all men should worship him, himself to fall down to a Jew, Parmenio drew near, and made bold to ask him the question. To whom Alexander: "It is not the priest," saith he, "but his God whom I adore, and who, in his "very habit, appeared to me long ago at Dius in "Macedonia, and encouraged me in my undertak-"ings for the empire of Asia." This done, the king ascended the temple, where, sacrifice first done to God, the prophecy of Daniel was brought forth,

the high priest turning to that place which foretell- CHAP. V.
eth of a mighty prince of Grecia that was to conquer the Persians; which, the circumstances well agreeing, the king readily applied unto himself; and so departed very well pleased, and full of hope, leaving the people to their ancient peace. It is added, moreover, by Abraham the Levite, in his Cabala, that the high priest, by way of acknowledgment, made faith to the king, that all the children, which should be born that year to the holy tribe, should be called by his name; and moreover, that from the same time they would henceforth compute their *minian staros*, or *era of contracts*.

But this tradition is opposed by many great men, who date the beginning of this famous era from the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, one of Alexander's successors. This computation is made use of over all the East, by Heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans; and it is called by the Jews, *the era of contracts*, because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs. And it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that till a thousand years after Christ they had no other way to compute their time, but this era of contracts only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the East, they followed the eastern custom of computing by the *era of contracts* (as they called it). But when about the year of our Lord one thousand and forty they were driven out of the East, and forced to remove into western parts, and were settled in Spain, France, England, and

BOOK VII. Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this era, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian period nine hundred fifty-three, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to Scaliger's computation, was an hundred eighty-nine years, and, according to others, two hundred forty-nine years higher up than where this era of the Jews places it. However, the era of contracts is not at this time out of use among that people: the Arabs call it, *taric dilcarnain*, that is, *the era of the two horned.* The reason of this name some deduce from Alexander, who is in the Alcoran and other Arabic books frequently called *the two horned;* and he is often found with two horns upon his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being the son of Jupiter Ammon; for that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams' horns upon his head, Alexander might cause himself to be so represented likewise, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his son. But this era has no relation to Alexander, though it has been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *the era of Alexander;* for Alexander was dead twelve years before it began; and its commencement only was from the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this Arabic name, *taric dilcarnain*, from Seleucus. In Syriacis. And Appian gives us in him a sufficient reason for it; for he tells us, that Seleucus being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a bull by

the horn, he could stop him in his full career; the statuaries, for this reason, usually made his statues with two bull's horns upon his head. And therefore it is most probable that he, and not Alexander, was first meant by the *two horned*, in the Arabic name of this era; for it was from him, and not from Alexander, that it had its origin. CHAP. V.

This era, in the books of the Maccabees, is called *the era of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the first book of the Maccabees begins the years of this era from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following; and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and all others that anciently did or now do use this era, excepting the Chaldeans; for they not reckoning Seleucus to be thoroughly settled in Babylon till the spring in which Demetrius made his retreat from thence, which was the next year following, they began not this era till from that spring, and for the same reason reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that whereas all other nations that computed by this era began it from the autumn of the year before Christ three hundred and twelve, it had not its commencement among the Chaldeans, till from the spring of the year next after following. 1 Mac. i. 10.

It has been frequently observed by learned men, how wide is the variety in chronology, and settling of time, between the Hebrew and the Greek scriptures, insomuch that there is a manifest difference of two thousand years; and from hence some sceptical minds have taken occasion equally to disparage the authority both of the one and of the other. The learned Mr. Gregory speaks thus upon this subject:

BOOK VII. "It cannot be," says he, "but that this epilogism
"must be detracted from the Hebrew, or superadded
"to the Greek, there being no mean way of recon-
"ciliation: but certainly the Hebrew, (though I hold
"it not so every ways incorrupt, as if not one jot or
"tittle of the same suffered the common fate of time,
"yet I believe to be the original, and by the incredi-
"ble diligence of the Masora, subservient to the
"greater providence of God,) to retain more of its
"own purity, than any other scripture whatsoever;
"and, therefore, that it rests in the Greek transla-
"tion to account for this difference: yet neither do
"I think that choice assembly so neglected by God
"in a matter so importantly cared for by him, as to
"recede so foully from their original: I rather cast
"this corruption upon the dregs of time, assuring
"myself that this imposture was put upon us by
"the Hellenists, those among them who affected
"that ancient heresy of the Chiliasts, the conceit
"whereof I affirm to be the occasion of this cor-
"ruption."

De Æris et Epochis, c. 21.

Here follows a calendar, shewing the courses of the priests that officiated every week at the temple; the lessons out of the law; and the prophets used every sabbath in the synagogues; and the festivals, great and less, as they fell out in their seasons. The year is supposed to be in its common ordinary course, and A to be the dominical or sabbath-day letter.

The first month of the Civil year.
The seventh month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

TISRI, or ETHANIM, 1 Kings viii. 2; 2 Chron. v. 3. The first month.

1	A	*Delaiah.* The three and twentieth course.	Feast
2	b	of Trumpets.	From the middle of our September to the middle of October.
3	c	Lessons.	
4	d	Deut. xxvi. 1. to xxix. 10.	
5	e	Isa. lx. 1. to the end.	
6	f		
7	g		
8	A	*Maaziah.* The four and twentieth course.	
9	b	Lessons.	
10	c	Deut. xxix. 10. to xxxi. 1. when there were more	
11	d	weeks in the years, otherwise to the end of the	
12	e	book. Isa. lxi. 10. to lxiii. 10. The tenth day	
13	f	of this month was the solemn and mysterious feast	
14	g	of Expiation, Lev. xvi. 29.	
15	A	*The feast of Tabernacles.* All the priests are pre-	
16	b	sent, and serve. The law is begun to be read.	
17	c	Lessons.	
18	d	Gen. i. 1. to vi. 9; Isa. xlii. 5. to xliii. 11.	
19	e		
20	f		
21	g		
22	A	*Jehoiarib.* The first course beginneth.	
23	b	Lessons.	
24	c	Gen. vi. 9. to xii. 1; Isa. liv. 1. to lv. 5.	
25	d		
26	e		
27	f		
28	g		
29	A	*Jedaiah.* The second course beginneth.	
30	b	Lessons.	
		Gen. xii. 1. to xviii. 1; Isa. xl. 27. to xli. 17.	

The second month of the Civil year.
The eighth month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has but twenty-nine days.

MARHESHUAN.

The second month. Part of October and part of November.

1	c	
2	d	
3	e	
4	f	
5	g	
6	A	*Harim.* The third course beginneth.
7	b	Lessons.
8	c	Gen. xviii. 1. to xxiii. 1; 2 Kings iv. 1. to 38.
9	d	
10	e	
11	f	
12	g	
13	A	*Seorim.* The fourth course beginneth.
14	b	Lessons.
15	c	Gen. xxiii. 1. to xxv. 19; 1 Kings i. 1. to 32.
16	d	
17	e	
18	f	
19	g	
20	A	*Malchijah.* The fifth course beginneth.
21	b	Lessons.
22	c	Gen. xxv. 19. to xxviii. 10; Mal. i. 1. to ii. 8.
23	d	
24	e	
25	f	
26	g	
27	A	*Mijamim.* The sixth course beginneth.
28	b	Lessons.
29	c	Gen. xxviii. 10. to xxxii. 3; Hosea xi. 7. to xiv. 2.

The third month of the Civil year.
The seventh month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

CHISLEU.

The third month. Part of November and part of December.

1	d	
2	e	
3	f	
4	g	
5	A	*Hakkoz.* The seventh course begins.
6	b	Lessons.
7	c	Gen. xxxii. 3. to xxxvii. 1; Obadiah, all the chap-
8	d	ter; or, Hos. xii. 12. to the end of the book.
9	e	
10	f	
11	g	
12	A	*Abijah,* or *Abia.* The eighth course beginneth.
13	b	Lessons.
14	c	Gen. xxxvii. 1. to xli. 1; Amos ii. 6. to iii. 9.
15	d	
16	e	
17	f	
18	g	
19	A	*Jeshuah.* The ninth course beginneth.
20	b	Lessons.
21	c	Gen. xli. 1. to xliv. 18; 1 Kings iii. 15. to the end
22	d	of the chapter.
23	e	
24	f	*Feast of Dedication, eight days,* 1 Mac. iv. 59;
25	g	John x. 22.
26	A	*Shechaniah.* The tenth course beginneth.
27	b	Lessons.
28	c	Gen. xliv. 18. to xlvii. 27; Ezek. xxxvii. 15. to
29	d	the end of the chapter.
30	e	

The fourth month of the Civil year.
The tenth month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has but twenty-nine days.

TEBETH, Esther ii. 16.

The fourth month.

Part of December and part of January.	1	f	
	2	g	
	3	A	*Eliashib.* The eleventh course beginneth.
	4	b	Lessons.
	5	c	Gen. xlvii. 27. to the end of the book; 1 Kings ii.
	6	d	1. to 13.
	7	e	
	8	f	
	9	g	
	10	A	*Jakim.* The twelfth course beginneth.
	11	b	Lessons.
	12	c	Exod. i. 1. to vi. 2; Isa. xxvii. 6. to xxviii. 14; or,
	13	d	Jer. i. 1. to ii. 4.
	14	e	
	15	f	
	16	g	
	17	A	*Huppah.* The thirteenth course beginneth.
	18	b	Lessons.
	19	c	Exod. vi. 2. to x. 1; Ezek. xxviii. 1. from ver. 25.
	20	d	to the end of chap. xxix.
	21	e	
	22	f	
	23	g	
	24	A	*Jeshebeah.* The fourteenth course beginneth.
	25	b	Lessons.
	26	c	Exod. x. 1. to xiii. 17; Jer. xlvi. 13. to the end of
	27	d	the chapter.
	28	e	
	29	f	

The fifth month of the Civil year.
The eleventh month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

SHEBET, Zech. i. 7.

The fifth month. Part of January and part of February.

1	g	
2	A	*Bilgah.* The fifteenth course beginneth.
3	b	Lessons.
4	c	Exod. xiii. 17. to xviii. 1; Judges iv. 4. to vi. 1.
5	d	
6	e	
7	f	
8	g	
9	A	*Immer.* The sixteenth course beginneth.
10	b	Lessons.
11	c	Exod. xviii. 1. to xxi. 1; Isa. vi. all the chapter.
12	d	
13	e	
14	f	
15	g	
16	A	*Hezir.* The seventeenth course beginneth.
17	b	Lessons.
18	c	Exod. xxi. 1. to xxv. 1; Jer. xxxiv. 8. to the end
19	d	of the chapter.
20	e	
21	f	
22	g	
23	A	*Happitsets.* The eighteenth course beginneth.
24	b	Lessons.
25	c	Exod. xxv. 1. to xxvii. 20; 1 Kings v. 12. to vi. 14.
26	d	
27	e	
28	f	
29	g	
30	A	*Pethahiah.* The nineteenth course beginneth.
		Lessons.
		Exod. xxvii. 20. to xxx. 11.

BOOK VII.

The sixth month of the Civil year.
The twelfth month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has but twenty-nine days.

The sixth month. Part of February and part of March.

ADAR, Ezra vi. 15.

1	b	Ezek. xliii. 10. to the end of the chapter.
2	c	
3	d	
4	e	
5	f	
6	g	
7	A	*Jehezkel.* The twentieth course beginneth.
8	b	Lessons.
9	c	Exod. xxx. 11. to xxxv. 1; 1 Kings xviii. 1. to 39.
10	d	
11	e	
12	f	
13	g	
14	A	*Jachin.* The one and twentieth course beginneth.
15	b	Lessons.
16	c	Exod. xxxv. 1. to xxxviii. 21; 1 Kings vii. 13. to 26.
17	d	The fourteenth and fifteenth days of this month
18	e	were the feast of Purim.
19	f	
20	g	
21	A	*Gamul.* The two and twentieth course beginneth.
22	b	Lessons.
23	c	Exod. xxxviii. 21. to the end of the book; 1 Kings
24	d	vii. 50. to viii. 21.
25	e	
26	f	
27	g	
28	A	*Delajah.* The three and twentieth course beginneth.
29	b	Lessons.
		Lev. i. 1. to vi. 1; Isa. xliii. 21. to xliv. 24.

The seventh month of the Civil year.
The first month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

ABIB, Exod. xii. or NISAN, Neh. ii. 1.

The first month, *stilo novo.*

Part of March and part of April.

1 c
2 d
3 e
4 f
5 g
6 A *Maaziah.* The four and twentieth course beginneth.
7 b Lessons.
8 c Lev. vi. 1. to ix. 1; Jer. vii. 21. to viii. 4.
9 d
10 e
11 f
12 g
13 A *The preparation.*
14 b *The Passover day,* Exod. xii. This week there was
15 c no distinct course that served, but all the courses
16 d indifferently and together.
17 e Lessons.
18 f Lev. ix. 1. to xii. 1; 2 Sam. vi. 1. to vii. 17.
19 g
20 A *Jehoiarib.* The first course beginneth the round
21 b again.
22 c Lessons.
23 d Lev. xii. 1. to xiv. 1; 2 Kings iv. 42. to v. 20.
24 e
25 f
26 g
27 A *Jedaiah.* The second course.
28 b Lessons.
29 c Lev. xiv. 1. to xvi. 1; 2 Kings vii. 3. to the end of
30 d the chapter.

BOOK VII.

The eighth month of the Civil year.
The second month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has but twenty-nine days.

IJAR.

The second month, *stilo novo.*	1	e	
Part of April and part of May.	2	f	
	3	g	
	4	A	*Harim.* The third course.
	5	b	Lessons.
	6	c	Lev. xvi. 1. to xix. 1; Ezek. xxii. 17.
	7	d	
	8	e	
	9	f	
	10	g	
	11	A	*Seorim.* The fourth course.
	12	b	Lessons.
	13	c	Lev. xix. 1. to xxi. 1; Amos ix. 7. to the end of
	14	d	the book; or, Ezek. xx. 2. to 21.
	15	e	
	16	f	
	17	g	
	18	A	*Malchijah.* The fifth course.
	19	b	Lessons.
	20	c	Lev. xxi. 1. to xxv. 1; Ezek. xliv. 15. to the end.
	21	d	
	22	e	
	23	f	
	24	g	
	25	A	*Mijamim.* The sixth course.
	26	b	Lessons.
	27	c	Lev. xxv. 1. to xxvi. 3; Jer. xxxii. 6. to 28.
	28	d	
	29	e	

The ninth month of the Civil year.
The third month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

SIVAN, Esther viii. 9.

The third month, *stilo novo.*

Part of May and part of June.

1 f
2 g
3 A No single course because of Pentecost week, but all
4 b served indifferently.
5 c Lessons.
6 d Lev. xxvi. 3. to the end of the book; Jer. xvi. 19.
7 e to xvii. 15.
8 f
9 g
10 A *Hakkoz.* The seventh course.
11 b Lessons.
12 c Numb. i. 1. to iv. 21; Hosea i. 10. to ii. 21.
13 d
14 e
15 f
16 g
17 A *Abijah*, or *Abia.* The eighth course.
18 b Now it was that Zacharias had the tidings of the
19 c birth of John the Baptist.
20 d Lessons.
21 e Numb. iv. 21. to viii. 1; Judges xiii. 2. to the end
22 f of the chapter.
23 g
24 A *Jeshuah.* The ninth course.
25 b Lessons.
26 c Numb. viii. 1. to xiii. 1; Zech. ii. 10. to iv. 8.
27 d
28 e
29 f
30 g

The tenth month of the Civil year.
The fourth month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has but twenty-nine days.

TAMMUZ.

The fourth month, *stilo novo.* Part of June and part of July.

1	A	*Shecanniah.*	The tenth course.
2	b		Lessons.
3	c	Numb. xiii. 1. to xvi. 1; Joshua ii. all the chapter.	
4	d		
5	e		
6	f		
7	g		
8	A	*Eliashib.*	The eleventh course.
9	b		Lessons.
10	c	Numb. xvi. 1. to xix. 1; 1 Sam. xi. 14. to xii. 23.	
11	d		
12	e		
13	f		
14	g		
15	A	*Jarkin.*	The twelfth course.
16	b		Lessons.
17	c	Numb. xix. 1. to xxii. 2; Judges xi. 1. to 34.	
18	d		
19	e		
20	f		
21	g		
22	A	*Huppah.*	The thirteenth course.
23	b		Lessons.
24	c	Numb. xxii. 2. to xxv. 10; Micah v. 7. to vi. 9.	
25	d		
26	e		
27	f		
28	g		
29	A	*Jeshebeah.*	The fourteenth course.
			Lessons.
		Numb. xxv. 10. to xxx. 2; 1 Kings xviii. 46. to the end of chap. xix.	

The eleventh month of the Civil year.
The fifth month of the Ecclesiastical year.

It has thirty days.

AB.

The fifth month, *stilo novo.* Part of July and part of August.

1	b	
2	c	
3	d	
4	e	
5	f	
6	g	
7	A	*Bilgal.* The fifteenth course.
8	b	Lessons.
9	c	Numb. xxx. 2. to xxxiii. 1.
10	d	תשעה באב the fast of the fifth month; Zech. vii. 5;
11	e	Jer. i. 1. to ii. 4.
12	f	
13	g	
14	A	*Immer.* The sixteenth course.
15	b	Lessons.
16	c	Numb. xxxiii. 1. to the end of the book; Jer. ii.
17	d	4. to 29.
18	e	
19	f	
20	g	
21	A	*Hezir.* The seventeenth course.
22	b	Lessons.
23	c	Deut. i. 1. to iii. 23; Isa. i. 1. to 28.
24	d	
25	e	
26	f	
27	g	
28	A	*Happitsets.* The eighteenth course.
29	b	Lessons.
30	c	Deut. iii. 23. to vii. 12; Isa. xl. 1. to 27.

The twelfth month of the Civil year.
The sixth month of the Ecclesiastical year.
It has but twenty-nine days.

ELUL.

The sixth month, *stilo novo*. Part of August and part of September.

1	d	
2	e	
3	f	
4	g	
5	A	*Pethahiah.* The nineteenth course.
6	b	Lessons.
7	c	Deut. vii. 12. to xi. 26; Isa. xlix. 14. to li. 4.
8	d	
9	e	
10	f	
11	g	
12	A	*Jehezkel.* The twentieth course.
13	b	Lessons.
14	c	Deut. xi. 26. to xvi. 18; Isa. liv. 11. to lv. 4.
15	d	
16	e	
17	f	
18	g	
19	A	*Jachin.* The one and twentieth course.
20	b	Lessons.
21	c	Deut. xvi. 18. to xxi. 10; Isa. li. 12. to lii. 13.
22	d	
23	e	
24	f	
25	g	
26	A	*Gamul.* The two and twentieth course.
27	b	Lessons.
28	c	Deut. xxi. 10. to xxvi. 1; Isa. liv. 1. to 11.
29	d	

CHAP. VI.

Arithmetic, or the way of numbering.

JOSEPHUS relates, that when Abraham was in Egypt, he communicated arithmetic to the Egyptians, who before were ignorant of that science; but in what manner this study was prosecuted in ancient times is difficult to determine. Their method of numbering, of old, was three ways: first, by their fingers; secondly, by letters; and thirdly, by cyphers. As their first measure was their hand—*Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span*—so their first numbering was by their fingers; and Solomon is supposed to allude to this form—*Wisdom cometh with length of days in her right hand.* They made use of their ten fingers, because no simple number can go beyond nine; and the tenth is the complement of all simple numbers.

CHAP. VI. Antiq. lib. i. c. 9. Isa. xl. 12. Prov. iii. 16.

Their way was first to number with their right hand upon the left, because the right was the most proper for action: upon the left hand they numbered from one to ninety, and at a hundred they began to turn to the right. And so we find the statue of Janus, erected at Rome, with the number of the days in the year upon his hands, having the great number upon his right hand, and the small upon his left.

Plinius, lib. xliv.

The manner of numbering upon the left hand was thus: when they counted one, they laid the point of their little-finger in the middle of their palm: when they counted two, they laid the ring-finger upon the palm of their hand: when they counted three, they laid their middle-finger upon the palm of their hand: when they counted four, they lifted up their middle-

BOOK VII. finger from the palm of their hand, and left the other two fingers remaining upon the palm: when they counted five, they lifted up the ring-finger from the palm of their hand: and when six, they lifted up the middle-finger: when seven, they laid the point of their little finger about the middle of their hand. When eight, the ring-finger about the middle of their hand: when nine, the middle-finger about the middle of their hand: when ten, they laid the nail of their fore-finger at the middle of the thumb: when twenty, they laid the nail of the fore-finger betwixt the joints of the thumb: when thirty, they laid the nail of the fore-finger and the nail of the thumb together: when forty, they laid the thumb upon the fore-finger crossways: when fifty, they inclined the thumb to the palm of the hand: when sixty, they laid the top of the fore-finger to the thumb: when seventy, they laid the nail of the thumb to the top of the fore-finger: when eighty, they laid the nail of the thumb betwixt the fore-finger and middle-finger: when ninety, they laid the nail of the fore-finger at the root of the thumb. Then they transferred the numbers from their left hand to the right, and they number hundreds upon the right hand, as they did the simple numbers upon the left.

When they came to reckon a thousand, they laid the palm of their left hand upon their breast with their fingers spread: when two thousand, they laid the back of their left hand upon their breast with their fingers spread: when they numbered thirty thousand, they laid the palm of their left hand upon their breast with their fingers upward: when forty thousand, they laid the back of their left hand upon their breast, and their fingers downwards: when

fifty thousand, they laid the palm of their left hand upon their navel, with their fingers upward: when sixty thousand, they laid the back of their left hand upon their navel with their fingers downwards: when seventy thousand, they laid the palm of their left hand upon their left thigh with their fingers crossways: when eighty thousand, they laid the back of their left hand upon their left thigh, with their fingers upwards: when ninety thousand, they laid the palm of their left hand upon their left thigh with their fingers downward: when they came to one hundred thousand, they counted with their right hand upon their belly, navel, and thigh, as they did before, until they come to ten millions. CHAP. VI.

The Hebrews, as well as Greeks and Latins, counted likewise by the letters of their alphabet, with this difference; that the Hebrews and Greeks numbered by all the letters of the alphabet, but the Latins had only six, by which they counted.

Afterwards they numbered by cyphers, which is a late invention: the Turks learned it from the Arabians; we from the Turks; and it comes from the Hebrew word *saphar*, to number.

CHAP. VII.

Geometry among the Hebrews.

THAT the ancient Hebrews understood geometry is evident from what the Jewish historian observes, that the spies sent by Joshua to search the land of Canaan were geometricians, and were well versed in that art, which now is peculiar only to philosophers. Menochius de Rep. Heb. lib. vii. c. 13.

BOOK VII. This knowledge they learned from the Egyptians, who were obliged to study the elements of it, in order to lay out every man's proper quantity of land after the Nile had overflowed, and covered with mud all distinctions and boundaries of it: the measure they made use of upon this occasion was the cubit, which is computed to be about a foot and a half and two inches with us. And Moses, when he speaks of a cubit, must be understood to mean the same measure with the cubit of the Egyptians. For as bishop Cumberland observes, the progenitors of the Jews went into Egypt, then a flourishing kingdom, in the condition of a family of about seventy men, and were there subjects, at the best, who must use in all commerce the legal measures of the kingdom in which they dwell; and not long after were made bondmen, who cannot be supposed to be allowed to make laws to keep distinct measures and weights from the nation which they serve. This little and low estate they were in about two hundred years before their deliverance, and therefore must needs know the Egyptians' measures, but cannot be presumed (and proof there is none) to have any distinct, peculiar to themselves. And certainly it was neither unlawful nor dishonourable, in any comparison with slavery, to use the public measures of a kingdom famous for the greatest skill in the art thereof: on the contrary, Moses is celebrated for being skilful in all Egyptian learning, of which geometry and arithmetic, both used in measuring, are the best parts.

Weights and Measures, 2d ed. p. 27.

There is to be found in authors an account of four sorts of cubits: the common cubit, the same with the Egyptian above mentioned, and supposed to be about the measure from the elbow to the fin-

gers' end: the holy cubit contained two of the common cubits: the king's cubit is three fingers longer than the common cubit: the geometrical cubit is equivalent to six common cubits. CHAP. VII.

Other measures of application, as they are called, are a digit, which contains the breadth of six barley-corns joined together where they are thickest.

The palm, or hand's breadth, containing four digits, or fingers' breadths, and was called *palmus;* but there was another called *palma,* consisting of the length between the top of the thumb and the top of the middle-finger, when the hand is stretched out, which is what we call *a span,* and is by some called *the great palm.*

The pace was the distance between a man's feet when he walks, and which some distinguish into two sorts: the single, which consists of two feet and a half; and the double, which contains five feet.

The can was of six cubits' length, each cubit containing twenty-four fingers' breadths.

The line, or rope, of an uncertain length. The use of it was to measure land and buildings.

The reed, which could not be lengthened or shortened, as the rope might be, by change of weather, and therefore succeeded in the place of it: its length was six cubits and a hand's breadth. Ezek. xl. 5.

An acre was two hundred and twenty foot always in breadth and length; it was about the third part of a furlong. Isa. v. 10.

A furlong is often mentioned in the New Testament, not at all in the Old; it contained a hundred and twenty-five paces, which is the eighth part of our mile.

A mile containeth with us a thousand paces, but

BOOK VII. much more among the Hebrews; their word *barath* signifying a dinner or meal, and being applied to journeys, walks, or ways, it contains so much ground as usually is gone, or conveniently may be travelled in half a day, between meal and meal, or bait and bait. A Talmudic mile consisted of seven furlongs and a half.

A parsa was four miles.

A diet was thirty miles.

It may be proper to observe upon this occasion, that the possessions of the Israelites in the promised land were distinguished and bounded by certain marks; and therefore this was one of the Levitical laws, *Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance.* This the Jewish doctors conceive has respect peculiarly to the Holy Land, (as they call it,) and to the terms and bounds which were fixed by Joshua and the elders in the division of the country, which no man might remove; for that made him both guilty of theft, and also of the breach of this precept, and consequently he incurred a double punishment, and was whipt twice as much as another offender. Josephus extends this precept to the lands of all the neighbouring nations that were at peace with them; for wars and insurrections arise from the covetousness of men who would thus enlarge their territories, and they that remove the bounds of lands are not very far from subverting all laws.

Deut. xix. 14.

Selden de Jure, Nat. lib. vi. c. 3.

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8.

It was one of the denunciations from mount Ebal, *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.* The form of delivering these curses was solemn and surprising: the twelve tribes, when they had passed over Jordan, were divided; six of them,

See Deut. xxvii. 17.

Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin, stood upon mount Gerizim, upon which Samaria was afterwards built; and the other six, Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali, upon mount Ebal, that was opposite; and the tops of these mountains were so near, that what was said upon the one might be heard by those who were on the tops and sides of the other. In the valley stood the priests with the ark of the covenant, and first turning their faces towards mount Gerizim, proclaimed with a loud voice, (for example,) *Blessed be he that removeth not his neighbour's landmark.* Unto which all the people that stood there answered, *Amen.* And then turning their faces towards mount Ebal, they said thus, *Cursed be he that removeth,* &c. To which they that stood there made the same answer. CHAP. VII.

When a man had a mind to mortgage his land, the contract was executed in this manner: the purchaser wrote two instruments; the one he sealed with his own signet; the other he shewed unclosed to the witnesses, that they might subscribe and bear testimony to what was written. The witnesses subscribed upon the back of the enclosed instrument: and these two writings were exactly the same; only that in the sealed instrument some particulars were concealed from the witnesses, which were the prices of the land, and the time of the redemption; (for none knew these but the buyer and the seller;) for the next kinsman, if he knew the time of redemption, and the price, (the mortgager not being able to redeem it at the day,) might lawfully redeem it for himself. Now these circumstances being undiscovered, there was an opportunity for the poor man Jer. xxxii. 9, 10.

BOOK VII. to redeem his land after the day was past. Among the Romans, when they sealed their last will, they never discovered the name of the heir, lest he should suffer an inconvenience by being known.

CHAP. VIII.

The art of dialling. The dial of Ahaz.

Nat. Hist. lib. ii. IT is said by Pliny, that the art of dialling was first invented by Anaximenes, a Milesian, the scholar of Anaximander, and he was the first who shewed a dial at Lacedæmon: but this is a mistake of the historian; for that art was among the Hebrews some centuries before, (according to the best chronologers,) as appears from the dial of Ahaz, upon which the shadow went back ten degrees in the days of Hezekiah.

2 Kings xx. 9, 10, &c.

I confess I have but small acquaintance with this art, and therefore am not qualified to give a satisfactory account of this dial of Ahaz, and that miraculous event that was wrought upon it. There is a learned writer, of the Scottish nation, who has been somewhat particular upon this subject: I shall transcribe his observations, and leave the judicious to pass their opinions upon the truth and certainty of them.

Weems's Explication of the Laws of Moses, tom. iii. b. 1. ch. 25.

"The hours," says he, "that were set upon the "dial of Ahaz were unequal, or planetary hours, "because the dial was made upon a polar ground. "Now there are five grounds upon which a dial "must be made: first, upon the elevation of the "equinoctial, whose hours are always equal. Se- "condly, vertical, and it shews only from six to six

" equinoctially. Thirdly, meridional, which shews " the hours from the rising of the sun till mid-day " upon the east side, and from mid-day till sunset " upon the west. Fourthly, horizontal, which has " no shadow under the equinoctial, or near the equi- " noctial. And the last is the polar dial, which " follows the zodiac; and the hours are contracted " upon the south side of the equinoctial in the win- " ter, and enlarged upon the north side in the sum- " mer.

" This dial of Ahaz could not be made upon an " equinoctial ground, because the hours of the equi- " noctial dial are equal. Secondly, it could not be " made vertical, because the vertical shews only " from six to six. Thirdly, it could not be made " meridional, because the east side and the west side " are divided by the meridional, and it wants the " twelfth hour. Fourthly, it could not be made " horizontal, because they lay so near the equinoc- " tial, that the style could cast no shadow. And " therefore it must be polar, and the hours must be " unequally divided for summer and winter, or else " they must have had two dials, one for summer, and " another for winter: the form of this dial was he- " mispherial, or a half circle.

" In this dial we have to consider these points: " first, that the lines were but half hours upon the " dial, and not full hours. Secondly, that this mi- " racle was wrought when the sun was in the height; " for if it had been in the declination, or in the after- " noon, then it could not have gone forward ten de- " grees; or if it had been soon in the morning, it " could not have gone back ten degrees. Thirdly, " this miracle was wrought in the summer-time,

BOOK VII. "the day being at the longest: it could not be "brought back ten degrees in the winter day; for "when the day is shortest, the sun rises to them at "seven o'clock: neither could this miracle be wrought "at the equinoctial; for then they could not have "discerned the sun to cast a shadow upon the dial, "because then the shadow is so long. The text "says, the shadow went back so many degrees in "the dial of Ahaz; therefore it seems to have been "wrought in the summer-time, at the longest day, "when it was drawn back from the eleventh hour "to the sixth, which is one hour after sun-rising, "for in the longest day the sun rises to them at five "o'clock in the morning." So far are the words of this Scottish writer.

What I have to observe upon this subject is, that there is not a word in the history of this transaction concerning the sun's going back, but only of the shadow upon the dial; from whence many modern interpreters have concluded, that the miracle was wrought upon the dial only, and not upon the very body of the sun, which still held on its courses as it used to do. It is said indeed by Isaiah, *So the sun returned ten degrees:* but this they conceive may be understood of the shadow, as it is mentioned in the second book of the Kings, and that God so disposed the rays of the sun, and ordered the light, that no shadow should be projected, but where the prophet foretold. This I thought fit to represent; but must add, that the ancient Jews, and Christians too, understood the words of Isaiah to signify, that the sun itself went back, and not merely the shadow. Primate Usher, in his Annals, is of this opinion, whose words are these; "The sun and all the heavenly

Isa. xxxviii. 8.

A.M. 4001.

" bodies went back, and as much was detracted from " the next night as was added to this day." This, it is supposed, was done of a sudden by a Divine power, and lasted not long before all things were restored again to their usual place; so that no alteration was made in the state of the heavenly bodies. That there was some change at the present was observed both in the northern part of the world, at Babylon, (from whence Merodach Baladan sent to inquire about this wonder,) and also in the southern, in the land of Egypt. This may be collected from a remarkable passage in Herodotus, who tells us in his Euterpe, that the Egyptians had observed strange alterations in the motion of the sun, which had been seen four times out of its usual course, it rising twice where it now sets, and setting twice where it now rises; and yet no change at all made among the Egyptians, neither in the earth, nor in the river, nor in any thing else. This is a plain evidence, that their neighbours (and many others, no doubt) had heard of the unusual motions of the sun, (though without any alteration in the heavenly bodies, which were seen fixed in their former station,) but had not a perfect knowledge of them; for to these two, mentioned in scripture, that in the time of Joshua, and this of Hezekiah, the Egyptians added two more, and made them to have been near the same time. What the Talmudists say upon this occasion is perfectly ridiculous, that the day on which Ahaz died, was but two hours long; but upon the account of Hezekiah, God restored those ten hours which were then wanting, and so brought time even.

CHAP. VIII.

2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

Chap. i. 42.

Cap. Chelek.

CHAP. IX.

Physic and surgery.

THERE are many passages in scripture which prove the use of surgery and physic among the old Hebrews. These arts they brought with them out of Egypt, and in process of time made considerable improvements in them. It was one of the Levitical laws, that if one man smote another, so that he kept his bed, he that smote him was to cause him *to be thoroughly healed:* the holy anointing oil was to be made a perfume and confection *after the art of the apothecary:* which evidence that there were among them persons well skilled in medicine and drugs in the very infancy of their republic.

Exod. xxi. 19, 20.

Exod. xxx. 35.

No certain discoveries can be made in what manner these arts were practised and applied in those early ages; only we find that the distemper of Hezekiah was cured by a poultice of figs, which is a natural remedy, and is generally used in imposthumes; but it has not so quick an effect as this had upon Hezekiah, of curing him in a moment.

2 Kings xx. 7.

It is to no purpose to dwell long upon a subject where nothing but conjecture is to be expected: I shall therefore take occasion to explain concisely the diseases and distempers that are mentioned in scriptures, particularly of the Old Testament, and most of them common among the Hebrews; but the methods of cure and the practice of physicians in those days is, I think, impossible to be discovered.

Barrenness is a sort of infirmity, and was formerly thought a great reproach among the Hebrew women.

There is no part in the human body subject to a

greater number of distempers than the eye, the greatest of all which is the loss of sight, which no art can cure; yet when a cataract happens to be the only cause of the loss, oculists can remove it, and restore the sight. CHAP. IX.

A cancer is one of the most terrible diseases in the world; if it be not soon stopped, it makes a dreadful progress.

There are different ways of castration: it may be done either by bruising, treading upon, cutting off, or pulling out the parts which are appointed for the preservation of the species. This practice was so rigorously forbidden, that it was unlawful to offer up a castrated animal for sacrifice, and it disqualified a man for the priesthood.

Circumcision may be reckoned among the diseases; because the pain that was occasioned by this ceremony brought a distemper upon those who received it, especially if they were of an advanced age. The third and fourth days after circumcision were the most painful, which happens in all sorts of wounds. And this made Hippocrates forbid the touching of them on these days, for fear of an inflammation. Dinah's brethren were not ignorant of this; and therefore they made choice of the third day after the Shechemites had been circumcised, to fall upon them, and make them an easy conquest. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

The only observation I shall make upon the deaf and dumb is, that the tongue and ear have so much dependence upon each other, that they who are born deaf are always dumb; for having never heard a word spoken, their tongues cannot pronounce any, words being nothing else but an imitation of what we hear others say.

BOOK VII. The dropsy is a known distemper, and is of several kinds: the most cruel is that which swells the patient so terribly, that it not only gives him intolerable pains, but makes him even hideous to the sight.

What fevers are, and the different sorts of them, are known to every one.

The gangrene is a corruption which spreads itself from the corrupted to the sound part, unless it be very speedily prevented.

The gonorrhœa is a distemper peculiar to men. It made those unclean who were seized with it, and they were not allowed to enter into the temple.

The gout is a distemper I here mention, because it is said in the Chronicles, that Asa fell sick of a violent pain in his feet, and died of it. When this pain seizes the feet the Greeks call it *podagra;* when the hands, they call it *chiragra;* so that it takes its name from the part affected.

2 Chron. xvi. 12.

The hemorrhoids, or piles, are a loss of blood by the veins of the anus. When they have not this effect, they cause a swelling in it, which is often extremely painful. It is believed that this is the distemper with which God punished the inhabitants of Azotus, for having dared to detain the ark among them. This loss of blood did not make the persons afflicted with it unclean, but one of another kind, to which women are sometimes subject, made them so as long as it continued.

1 Sam. v.

No distemper is more nasty and dreadful than the leprosy. The word is originally Greek, and may have been taken either from the scales which a leprosy brings upon the body, or making the skin rough and full of pimples. It is so contagious, that

the breath or touch of the leper communicates his distemper, and therefore it is a species of uncleanness under the ancient law. No lepers were suffered to dwell within their cities; nor did any one eat with them; and, as Josephus says, they were little better than people dead. They wore a particular habit, their clothes were rent, they went with their heads bare, and their faces covered; and all this by the appointment of the Mosaic law. CHAP. IX.

The word *lycanthropy* is not to be found in scripture, but the thing it signifies is: it is a distemper which arises from a black and burnt choler, which spreads itself all over the body, produces inward cancers in it, causes very sharp pains, is very drying, changes the countenance, and passing from the body to the mind does, as it were, change a man into a beast. Nebuchadnezzar seems to have been afflicted with this distemper. Daniel says, he was driven from all commerce with men, went into the forests, lived there with wild beasts, and eat grass. But we are not to imagine that he was turned into a dog, or wolf, or any other wild creature: he only lived in woods, and was afflicted with the distemper here spoken of. Daniel iv.

The palsy is a relaxation of the nerves, arising from a cold humour which fills them, and stops up the passage of the animal spirits. The soul governs the body by the nerves, and it is by them she becomes sensible of what happens to the body. But the palsy breaks off this communication, and is a privation both of motion and sense.

The phthisick, or consumption, is a distemper which insensibly dries up the body, and makes it thinner and thinner, and at last ends in death. The

BOOK VII. wicked Jehoram was punished by God with this distemper; he languished two years, and at last died: his bowels seem to have fallen out. This distemper frequently proceeds from an obstinate gonorrhœa.

2 Chron. xxi. 15.

Worms become a sort of distemper when the body is eaten up by them. This was the disease which seized upon Herod, who died in the midst of intolerable pains.

If it should be asked, what the distemper was with which Job was tormented, the most common opinion is, that his body was by the Devil reduced so very low, that he felt the same pains which attend the most contagious distempers. God had given the Devil this dominion over his servant, that his patience might be the more signal and exemplary, in proportion to the greatness of the sufferings he underwent.

CHAP. X.

The knowledge of trees, plants, herbs, &c.

AMONG the learned accomplishments of the wise Solomon, it is recorded of him that he was so well versed in natural history, so expert a botanist, and so perfectly understood the virtues and properties of all plants, that he was able to speak *of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spoke also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.* Of the animals, I think sufficient for this design has been said in the chapter concerning the creatures that were pronounced clean or unclean by the law of Moses. Only let it be observed, that

1 Kings iv. 33.

Solomon, it is supposed, compiled books upon this subject, which some Jews fancy were seen by Aristotle, who published them in his own name in his *Historia Animalium.* Anastasius, bishop of Nice, commenting upon the verse above, has this remark, that from the curious collections of Solomon, no doubt, those who afterwards wrote books of medicine very largely borrowed: from him they understood the exact orders and difference of heat and cold, of drought and moisture, and what proportion there was of these qualities in all herbs. And Pineda has very copiously, and with wonderful nicety, treated of the knowledge of this prince in physic, and concludes, that he was the most perfect master in that art of any that was before, or has been since his time.

CHAP. X.

Quæst. 39. in Scripturam.

In Salomone, lib. iii. c. 22.

The herbs, grain, pulse, trees, and plants, that are mentioned in scripture, may properly be explained according to the alphabetical order of the names that are given them in our common Bibles.

Aloes is a very bitter herb. Some will have it to be an Indian tree which is of different colours, and is called *santanx.* What our druggists mean by the plant called by this name is well known.

The almond tree blows the soonest of any tree: it begins as soon as ever the rigour of winter is past, and is in blossom in February. Aaron's rod which budded, and by this miracle secured the priesthood to him, was a branch of an almond tree.

Numb. xvii. 8.

Barley is the soonest ripe of any grain; therefore the Jews dedicated all the firstfruits of their grain to God upon the second day of unleavened bread, by offering up of a sheaf of barley.

Bdellium is usually taken for a black tree which

BOOK VII. yields a gum: but the word in the original signifies neither a tree nor gum, but a precious stone.

Beans need not be explained.

Bishopswort, in the Hebrew, *gith*, is used by poor people instead of pepper.

The Vulgate translates the Hebrew *meror*, in our
Lev. xxiii. 14. English version *parched corn*, by *bitter lettuce;* but it signifies all sorts of bitter herbs. The Jews say there are five different sorts of them, with which they used to eat the passover.

Box is an exceeding hard wood, and so heavy that it sinks in the water, and what is engraven upon it
Isaiah xxx. 8. is not easily effaced. Isaiah was commanded to engrave the sins of his people upon public monuments; but the Hebrew does not say of what matter they were to be made, but the Vulgate translates it, *Go, and write upon the box.*

The bramble is a shrub whose leaves are green, and a little sharp. It grows in desert places.

Burre-reed has a sharp and thick leaf, and grows
Exod. ii. 3. by the side of the waters. The banks of the Nile abound with it; and it was in a place full of burre-reeds where Moses was exposed.

Cane is a sort of reed. There is a sort of it which comes from mount Libanus, which tastes like cassia, and has a very agreeable smell.

The caper tree is a low and very thorny plant. We find the word in Ecclesiastes, where Solomon
Eccles. xii. 5. observing old age, says, *the caper tree shall be de-*
In English, *the desire shall fail.* *stroyed;* which is a figurative expression, importing that old men's appetites fail them so much, that nothing can recover them.

The cedar is one of the most beautiful trees in nature. It is very tall, and always green; the leaf

of it is thick and sharp, the pith red, and it has an odoriferous smell. The fruit of it resembles a pine-apple, and the trunk yields a gum. It never rots; and is one of the best sorts of wood for the building of ships.

The colocynthida is a wild gourd as big as an orange; if one cuts the flower of it with a knife, it is intolerably bitter. Elisha's servant ignorantly put some of it into his pot, and as soon as his disciples had tasted it, they cried there was poison in it. 2 Kings iv. 39.

Coriander is a plant which bears berries, of which they make sugar-plums.

The cucumber, melon, onion, and leak, are too well known to be explained. As we make melon beds, so the Hebrews had pieces of ground sowed with cucumber. Isaiah i. 8.

Cummin, or sour anise, is a sort of fennel.

The cypress tree has a very tall and a very straight body: its leaves are like those of a pine tree, but not so hard, and more blunt. This is an oily wood, and has a very strong smell. It is not subject to be wormeaten, because the worms will not touch it.

The fig tree is known to every body. It has two sorts of fruit; that of the spring, which grows ripe; and that of autumn, which continues always green.

The fir tree is very tall, straight, and has few knots.

Flax is a plant, of which the finest linen is made.

The hazel tree may be understood either of the common nut or filbert.

Heath grows nowhere but in uncultivated places; which is the reason why Jeremiah threatening the Jews with an entire desolation, says, *They shall be like the heath in the wilderness.* Jerem. xvii. 6.

BOOK VII.

The holm oak has a fine and thin bark, and its leaves are a little sharp and pointed; otherwise it is like other oaks.

It is not certain whether the hyssop, mentioned in scripture, be the same with ours, that is, whether it be an herb or a tree. Its trunk must certainly have been longer than that of an herb, since St. John says, that the soldiers put a sponge upon hyssop to give drink to our Saviour, whose cross was very high.

John xix. 29.

Ivy is a weak plant, which being unable to support itself, cleaves to trees and walls. It is an evergreen.

The juniper tree has prickles instead of leaves; but they are always green. It is large in eastern countries; and the scripture says, that Elijah lay and slept under a juniper-tree. When they are full grown, and incisions are made into them, they will in the summer-time produce some resin.

1 Kings xix. 5.

Kikaion is the name which the scripture gives to the tree under which Jonas rested. Pliny distinguishes two sorts of gourds: some, says he, creep upon the ground; others raise themselves up, and they make cradles of them: so that this plant might soon be large enough to cover the prophet. Bochart thinks that the kikaion of the Hebrews is the same with the kiki of the Egyptians; and according to Dioscorides, it is a shrub which the Latins call *ricinus*, because its seed resembles a little animal, called in Latin *ricinus*, and is a sort of a little worm. Kimchi says they grow fast; and that they planted them before their shops for the sake of shade, and refreshing themselves under it.

Lentils are a small reddish grain, which is reckoned among pulse.

The lily is of an admirable whiteness. It was a custom in Palestine, after their corn had been beaten out and fanned, to lay it in heaps, and put lilies round them. From whence Solomon draws one of his comparisons in the Song of Songs, *Thy belly is like a heap of wheat set about with lilies.* Cant. vii. 2.

CHAP. X.

There are two sorts of mandrakes: one of them is like lettuce, only its leaves are straighter, and of a deeper green. It bears a fruit as big as a large filbert or chestnut; and this is what is called the female mandrake. The male is stronger, and has larger leaves; its fruit is round, and is like the yolk of an hen's egg: it has a strong smell, which occasions sleep. Its root is large, covered with hair, and divided in such a manner that it looks like thighs. It is said the mandrake is a love potion.

Mint is an odoriferous herb.

Millet takes its name from the multitude of its seeds.

The mulberry tree buds the latest of any tree. It seems afraid of exposing its leaves and flowers to the rigour of the winter. Its fruit, when ripe, is spotted with a bloody red.

Mustard is so stinging a seed, that it makes those weep who eat it. It is called the *least of all seeds.* It was thought to be so in Judæa: and indeed its smallness is surprising, compared with the plant it produces. Matth. xiii. 32.

The myrtle tree with us is but a ligneous plant, but in the hot countries it is a little tree. It is very agreeable, always green, and gives a smell. The Jews adorned the doors of their houses with myrtle branches on the feast of the dedication of the temple; and Isaiah, in order to express a happy change to

BOOK VII. the Jews, says, that *instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree.*

Isa. lv. 13.

The nut tree is a name given in general to all trees whose fruit is covered with a very thick shell.

The oak is common: there are many sorts of them.

The olive tree is of two sorts; manured and wild. The first bears olives, which, when they are ripe, turn black, and are fit for oil. This oil of olives is of great use: it strengthens the limbs and assuages pain.

The palm tree took its name from the resemblance its flat head and spreading branches bears to the palm of the hand. There is no country which has more or finer palm trees than Judæa, and therefore a palm tree is the emblem of that country. In the medals of Vespasian and Titus there is a palm tree, and a disconsolate woman sitting under it, with these two words, JUD. CAP. that is, *Judæa subdued.* It is a property of this tree to rise under any pressure that may be made upon it to pull it down. Its leaves are always green, and it never sheds them, as other evergreens do, but always continues to have the same leaves it had at first.

Papyrus is a plant like our reeds or bulrushes, which grows in the marshes of the Nile. The ancients stripped off very thin membranes from the leaves of it, upon which they wrote; and the name is continued down to the paper we now use, though very different from that of the ancients. They made sloops and barks of this papyrus; for Isaiah denounces, *Woe to the land which maketh a noise with its wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, which sendeth its embassadors upon the wa-*

ters in vessels of papyrus. Our English translation has it *in vessels of bulrushes.* CHAP. X.

The pine is as well known as any tree.

The plane gives a delightful shade, and is planted for that purpose. Its leaves are large, and its branches extend a great way. It loves to be near the water; and therefore Wisdom compares herself to a plane planted by the water side. Eccles. xxiv. 14.

The pomegranate tree is a sort of apple tree. The inside of a pomegranate is full of seeds which are of a bright red colour: and therefore the bridegroom compares the vermilion of his bride to an open pomegranate. Cant. iv 3.

The poplar is a tall-bodied tree, and is of two sorts; the white, whose leaves are of a whitish colour, and are always trembling; and the black, which has not so beautiful a head as the other, nor do its leaves always shake.

In the history of Susanna two trees are mentioned whose Greek names are preserved in the Vulgate: the one is called *prinus,* which is a sort of an oak; and the other *schinus,* which is a mastick-tree. There are many of the latter in the isle of Chios; and there distils a gum from them which is called *mastick.*

Pulse is a word which signifies all those fruits of the earth which are easily dressed, and are very wholesome, exclusive of the grain with which we make bread.

The ramthorn, in our English translation, *a bramble,* is a white bush, which extends its branches in straight, and not crooked lines, as other bushes do. It bears a little fruit, which when it is ripe turns black. Judges ix. 14.

BOOK VII. The reed is a very weak plant, and bends with the least breath of wind. It grows only in desert and watery places.

Roses are in all our gardens, as well as rue.

Saffron bears a blue flower, and has a sort of yellow fibres in the middle of it, which gives a very strong smell. It is good for the heart. The gar-
Cant. iv. 14. dens of the spouse in the Canticles had a great many of these plants in them. They make a colour of this flower, which is partly yellow and partly red.

Sabiunca is a plant very like our lavender. It is very low, and therefore the Latin interpreter makes
Isa. lv. 13. use of this name in Isaiah, to express a word which in the original signifies a low plant.

Mal. iii. 2. Saltwort, in our translation *fullers' sope*, is used by burning it, and making a ley of its ashes, which being mixed with water, there comes off an oil with it, which they boil, and make into a salve. The fullers who whiten stuffs often make use of it.

The scarlet tree bears a fruit of berries like lentils. In which berries are found worms, of whose blood the scarlet colour is made.

Shittim wood is that of which the scripture says the ark was made. Interpreters render the word *incorruptible wood*, which is applicable to the cypress, cedar, box, and several other trees.

Spikenard is both an herb and a shrub, and doth produce leaves like ears of corn, for which reason it is called *nardus*, eared *spicata*. Nard, or spikenard, a name which is also given to lavender, of which they make the oil of spikenard.

The sycamore, which is a sort of Egyptian fir tree, is a large tree. The fruit of the sycamore does not

hang upon the branches, but immediately upon the trunk.' CHAP. X.

The thistle is known to every body. It grows in fallow ground, and often in that which is ploughed,* where it chokes the good grain.

The turpentine tree is very beautiful, and common in Syria and Palestine. Its leaf resembles that of a laurel, and its flower like that of an olive. Its buds, which are at first green, afterwards grow red, and are black when they are at their maturity. From this tree distils the turpentine, which has so good a smell, and is so much esteemed.

The hyacinth, or violet tree, is a spring violet of a deep violet colour. The word is sometimes taken for the colour itself.

Wheat, vetches, vines, and nettles, are too well known to detain us.

The willows are very quick growers, and are usually planted by the water-side. It was upon these the Jews hung their musical instruments in the time of the captivity.

CHAP. XI.

The art of jewelling. Of precious stones.

WHEN God commanded Moses to build the tabernacle, to provide its utensils, and to make vestments for those who ministered in the holy rites, it is supposed that there were no artists among the Hebrews who were able to execute this design; for they had been long kept in servitude by the Egyptians, and cannot be thought to understand much of the curious arts of jewelling, engraving, embroidery, weaving, needlework, and other accomplishments;

BOOK VII. they were worn down with hard labour, and were acquainted with little more than making of bricks; and therefore God was pleased to instruct several men, particularly Bezaleel, in those arts, which they had no master to teach them, and which their natural genius could never attain to, especially on a sudden, without inspiration.

Exod. xxxi. 2, 3.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, to know exactly the names of the precious stones that are mentioned in scripture. The Jews themselves confessed, and the differences of the ancient interpreters, who have translated the Hebrew names, every one according to his own fancy manifestly, shew it; and therefore it shall be sufficient in this place to discover what those precious stones were which were in the high priest's pectoral; for, some few only excepted, all that are mentioned in scripture were in this ornament. In general it may be observed, that the two things which make precious stones so much sought after are the scarcity and the matter of them; the more hard, clear, and free from stains they are, they are the more valuable. The stones in the breastplate were twelve, and they were placed in this order:

Lamy's Introd. p. 434.

First rank were,

1. Odem. 2. Pithah. 3. Bakeket.

In the second,

4. Nophec. 5. Saphir. 6. Jahalon.

In the third,

7. Leshem. 8. Schebo. 9. Achlama.

In the fourth,

10. Tarschisch. 11. Schobam. 12. Jaspeh.

Odem, translated *pyropos* by the Greeks, and by the Latins *sardius*, is what we call a *sardonyx*. There are several sorts of them: the male sardonyx, which is of a deep red; the female, which is of a bright red; and the cornelian, which is of a pale red. It is pretended that the sardonyx took its name from Sardinia, where it is found; or from its resemblance to a fish called *sardius*, which when it is salted is red, like a salmon. But Braunius derives the word from *sered*, which in Hebrew signifies the red colour. And it is thought that this was the colour of this stone; and the proof that is given of it is, that it is said in the Revelations, that the face of him *that sat upon the throne was like a sardonyx*; which the ancients explain of God in his anger, whose face, say they, is then like fire. CHAP. XI. Revel. iv. 3.

Pithah is the topaz, which the ancients say was green, and much of a pearl colour; or as others, of a glass colour, which is a sort of green. There is in Arabia an island, formerly called Chitis, which is now called the isle of Topaz, either on account of the great quantity of these precious stones, which are brought from thence, or perhaps the island might give the topaz its name. Our topazes are different from those of the ancients, for ours are all of a gold colour.

Bakeket, the emerald. One of the properties of this stone, according to Pliny, is, that it gives a fire which neither flambeaux nor the sun itself can put out. And that the name which Moses gives it signifies to sparkle or to glitter. The emerald is green, but there are several sorts of them.

Nophec is, according to both the Greeks and Latins, a carbuncle. It has the brightness and colour

BOOK VII. of a flaming coal, which has given its name in the Greek language, as well as the Latin. The most beautiful of them must, according to Pliny, have pretty much of the amethyst, which is of a violet colour.

The sapphire has preserved its name in all languages. It is of a blue colour, according to Pliny, and the scriptures agree with him in it, as appears from that passage in Exodus; *And they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness.* There is a sort of these stones which has sparkles of gold intermixed with the colour of them; but they are not so bright as the others, and cannot be cut.

Exod. xxiv. 10.

Jahalon, Josephus will have to be the sapphire; but the Seventy and the Vulgate take it for the jasper, and Braunius explains it of the diamond.

Leshem is the name of a precious stone, which we nowhere find but in the description of the pectoral. Some think it is amber; and the Latins call it *Ligurius*, because they thought it grew in Liguria: but Braunius will have the leshem to be the jacynth, which derives its name from a flower, of whose colour it is. There are of them of several colours: the most common ones are of a gold colour, very like that of amber.

Schebo is nowhere mentioned but in Exodus. Interpreters translate it, the agate. They are very common stones, in which nature seems to divert herself with the different things she imprints upon them. Braunius thinks the schebo is the beryl, which is green; but there are some of them which incline to the gold colour, and are not so bright as

the others. They are always cut with six angles, to give them the greater life. CHAP. XI.

Achlama is taken for the amethyst. Pliny says it is a violet, inclining to a vine colour. The Greeks call it amethyst from a pretended quality they attribute to it of guarding against drunkenness.

Tarschisch is translated by the Seventy the chrysolyte, when they speak of the pectoral; but in other places they render it the carbuncle. From whence it appears that these interpreters were not very sure of having the true names of these stones. It was of a gold colour.

Schobam is a term which the Seventy vary much in translating. In Genesis they translate it *topaz*, which is of a wart colour: in Exodus they render it sometimes *emerald*, sometimes *beryl*, and sometimes *sardonyx*. In Job the word is by them rendered *onyx;* and in Ezekiel *sapphire:* but the Vulgate always translates it *onyx*. It is a precious stone, which is of a whitish colour, like that of a man's nails, from whence it takes its name.

Jaspeh is in the Septuagint the *onyx*, and in the Vulgate the *beryl*. The beryl, according to Pliny and Solinus, has a great deal of relation to the emerald. There are some of them that are blue and violet colour.

The ancient versions of the Old Testament make no mention of pearls; and the Vulgate does but once, and that improperly: but they are spoken of in the New Testament; and it may seem surprising either that the prophets should not have known them, or that they should not have spoken of them. But Bochart observes that they are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, though they have been other- Prov. xxv. 12.

BOOK VII. wise rendered by translators: in Genesis, particu-
Gen. ii. 12. larly, the land of Havilah is described by the quantity of *bedolach* it abounds with. This interpreters have translated *bdellium*, which signifies a certain black tree which yields an odoriferous gum; and others have taken it for crystal: but there is no room to doubt but that *bedolach* signifies pearls, since the country of Avila, or Havilah, is the place which most abounds with them of any place in the world. For the Red sea, by which I understand not the Arabian gulf only, but also the Persian sea, is so fruitful in pearls, that they were called by the ancients *the precious stones of the Red sea.*

CHAP. XII.

Of engraving, and the art of the lapidary.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strict prohibition in the second precept of the Decalogue against the engraving and carving of images, yet this art was allowed and practised by the Hebrews, so far as to engrave the images and figures of inanimate things, which had no temptation in them to seduce them to idolatrous worship. Moses made lilies about the tabernacle, and pomegranates upon the border of the pontifical vestment; and Solomon had curious embossed work of palm trees, and other devices in the temple: but the images of angels or men, or the figures of beasts, if they were richly adorned, and set up, and fixed in an open conspicuous place, as if they demanded veneration from those who saw them, were prohibited, lest the people should be drawn into idolatry, to which they were exceedingly prone. No

image of the sun and moon and stars, called *the host of heaven*, was suffered for the same reason, nor any representation of the Deity was permitted, lest the stupid populace should conceive that God was a corporeal being, and framing upon that account a contemptible notion of his divinity, should by degrees withdraw their obedience from him. No image or statue was allowed to be erected only in memory of a person deceased, lest it should attract devotion, and be worshipped as an idol; *For*, says the author of the Book of Wisdom, *a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices.* The cherubims that were placed in the holy of holies had no right to Divine worship, because they stood there as servants and attendants upon the propitiatory; nor were the people in danger of being corrupted from the true worship by the images of the oxen under the brasen sea, because they appeared there in a state of servitude, having the weight of that great vessel upon their backs, and had not the least symptom of grandeur or majesty about them. CHAP. XII. Wisd. xiv. 15.

The art of engraving or cutting upon jewels and precious stones was well known to the ancient Hebrews; for the names of the tribes were curiously graved upon the stones in the high priest's pectoral: nor were they ignorant of that fine part of sculptures called *basso relievo* by the Italians. They were excellent in carving upon ivory; for Josephus, describing the grandeur and magnificence of Solomon's palace, relates, that the building was made of white marble, of cedar, of gold, and of silver; the floors Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2.

BOOK VII. and walls were figured with diversity of flowers, and of precious stones enchased in gold, after the manner of the temple of God, which shined with such-like ornaments. There was likewise erected a most mighty throne, made in form of a tribunal, with six steps of pure ivory. On each side of which there stood two ramping lions, and the same number were placed above. The stage of the throne was after the form of hands that laid hold on the king, and he sat upon a half ox, looking backwards.

CHAP. XIII.

Of painting.

WHEN Antiochus Epiphanes published a decree to suppress the Jewish religion, one principal instruction given his agents was, to collect and destroy
1 Macc. i. 56. the books of Moses; and accordingly orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the Law to deliver them up; and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterwards found to retain any of them. By this means the persecutors got into their hands all the copies of the Law which were in the land, except such as those who fled into the deserts carried thither along with them. When these books came into their hands, some they destroyed, and others, which they thought fit to preserve, they polluted, by
1 Maccab. iii. 48. painting in them the pictures of their idolatrous gods, that so they might never be again used by the true Israelites.

It is certain that pictures were forbidden by the law of Moses, as much as images; and to have either

of them was equally esteemed an abomination among that people: for whereas it is said in the Levitical law, according to our translation, *Ye shall not set up any image of stone in your land,* the Hebrew original is, *any stone of picture;* and so it is noted in the margin at that place; by which the Jews understood stones painted with pictures. These were not allowed to be erected, though it were without the temple, and it was no more permitted to a proselyte than to an Israelite; and if any man presumed to make such statues, he was beaten. Such images as these were common among the Egyptians in aftertimes, which were not representations of their gods, but were full of symbols and hieroglyphics, expressing some of the principal perfections and attributes of their deities. The Hebrews were exceedingly rigid with regard to the precepts concerning images and pictures, insomuch that Origen against Celsus gives them this character: "Among them, there was no "other deity admitted but God, the governor of the "universal world, all makers of images being driven "from among them; for no painter or statuary was "allowed to live in their city, their laws being very "severe against workmen of this kind, lest the igno-"rant people should be drawn away, and tempted "from the worship of the true God." Vitellius, the Syrian prefect, going to make war against the Arabians, was met by the principal nobility of the Jews, and desired that he would not pass through their country, because it was a custom among them not to see any images carried, such as he had of many colours in his army. The governor condescended, and marched another way. And Josephus, in his own life, relates, that he was sent ambassador to Tiberias,

CHAP. XIII.

Lev. xxvi. 1. Selden. de Diis Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 1.

Orig. l. 4.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 7.

BOOK VII. to persuade the people to deface the palace erected by Herod the tetrarch, wherein divers figures of living creatures were painted, which were expressly forbidden by the Levitical law.

CHAP. XIV.

Of architecture.

THE public structures among the Hebrews, if we consider either the magnificence of the temple, or the stateliness of their buildings in Jerusalem and other cities, are undeniable testimonies of their skill in architecture above other nations; but though they soon left off the simplicity that was among them in the beginning of their republic, yet in all their fabrics they retained so much of the old form, as was positively enjoined them by the command of Moses.

Deut. xxii. 8. L'Empereur, in Cod. Middoth.

The law is expressed in this manner: *When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof.* The Jews are very curious in their comments; for they set a mark upon the word *thy*, fancying that the law does not simply say *the roof*, but *thy roof*, on purpose to except the temple, the synagogues, and the schools from this rule; which were the property of no private man, but belonged to the whole congregation. They say, indeed, the temple had battlements, not for necessity, but for ornament, because the roof of the temple was not flat, as the roof of another house was; for nobody walked upon the temple as they did upon their own houses, to take the air, and discourse together, or to meditate and pray, (in little closets they had

there,) which made it necessary to have these battlements of three foot and a half high, (as the Jews say,) to prevent any man's falling down when he did not attend, or was thinking upon something else. CHAP. XIV.

That the roofs of their houses were flat, which was the ground of this precept, we have many proofs in the scripture; for hither *Rahab brought the spies, and covered them with the stalks of flax which she laid upon them*: here *Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house*: David *also was walking upon the roof of his palace, when he saw Bath-sheba washing herself*; and in the same place *Absalom caused a tent to be spread, that he might go in to his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel.* Nor was it the manner of the Hebrews only, but of the Greeks and Romans also, to make the roofs of their houses, so that they might walk upon them, and stand there to see public shows, or to take the air; but the Roman houses wanted these battlements which Moses prescribed in his law. Josh. ii. 6. 1 Sam. ix. 25. 2 Sam. xi. 2. 2 Sam. xvi. 22.

If a man fell from a house for want of these defences, and lost his life, he is said to bring blood upon the house; the owner was guilty before God of his blood, and liable to be punished by the judges for neglecting the observance of this institution. This law is extended by the Jews to a studious care about every thing that might bring a man's life in danger: for example, they might not keep a mad dog, nor set up a broken ladder in their house, and many more particulars, of no importance to mention in this place. The Jews had not the art of making glass windows, but made use of lattices or

BOOK VII. curtains. Neither had they the invention of chimneys; they made their fires either in the open air, or in the middle of their chambers. The modern Jews leave about a cubit square of wall unplastered, in some part or other of their houses, to set before their eyes the destruction of the temple. They formerly would not suffer any beams of a floor to jet out into the streets of Jerusalem, lest if there should be any person dead upon that floor, they who walked under those beams should be polluted without knowing it. The owner dwells in the lower part of the house, but the upper part is frequently let out. The way to the upper rooms, how high soever, was by a ladder reared against the outside of the house. It was a tradition among the Jews, that no houses were ever let to hire in Jerusalem. As the people came thither from all parts three times in a year, in order to celebrate the festivals, the houses were open to strangers. They chose for themselves of such as they found empty, according to their liking, and the inhabitants took care to furnish them with beds; for which reason, say the Jews, though the city stood in both the tribes, both of Judah and Benjamin, yet it belonged to no particular tribe.

Bava Mezia, fol. 117.

Deut. vi. 9. The Hebrews were commanded by Moses to write the law upon the posts of their houses, and upon their gates: the Jews are very scrupulous about the words they are enjoined to write, and upon what part of the gates and posts they were to place them. This writing they call *mesusah*, and it was generally fixed upon the right side of their gates. Some write it upon little rolls, which they fasten to all their gates; but others enclose them in a case, which they fasten to the doorpost, or put into a hole in the

Leusd. Phil. Heb. Mixt. Dissert. 17.

wall; but before they are fixed, they say, "Blessed "be thou, O Lord our God, and king of the world, "who hast sanctified us by thy precepts, and hast "commanded us to fasten the mesusah to our door-"posts." All who pretend to religion among them, whenever they go out or come in, lay their hands upon this place, and say, "The Lord preserve my going "out and my coming in." It must be observed that other nations, as the learned Huetius notes, used to write their laws upon their gates; which it is probable they did in imitation of the Jews, who to this day have written in a parchment a part of the sixth of Deuteronomy, from the fourth to the tenth verse; and of the eleventh, from the thirteenth to verse the twentieth, which they roll up, and writing on it the word Shaddai, which is one of the names of God, put it into a piece of cane, or other hollow wood, and fasten it to the doors of their houses, and of each particular room in them; and as often as they go in and out, they make it a part of their devotion to touch this parchment and to kiss it. Maimonides observes, that they were forbidden to make their houses in the form of the temple, or to have any thing in their houses like the things in the temple, as the table or the candlestick. If any one built a synagogue, he was obliged to build it finer than his own house.

CHAP. XIV.

Demonstrat. Evangel. p. 58.

Leo of Mod. Hist. of the Jews, p. i. c. 2.

CHAP. XV.

The origin of trade and commerce among the Hebrews.

IT is supposed that convenience, more than necessity, first introduced trade and commerce among mankind. Nature always furnishes every animal

BOOK VII. with its proper subsistence in those places which give them birth; and we have many instances of wild people living upon the most barren lands without trade, or the least communication with strangers. Nevertheless, as men are sociable in their nature, even these savage people, who found themselves separated from other men, were not altogether without the practice of some sort of trade among themselves: the huntsman gave part of his game to the fisherman, who also freely returned him a share of his fish. There was also among them a kind of commerce of work and industry: the husbandman would help to build the house of the artificer, who had assisted him in making his plough.

This sort of commerce between man and man is as ancient as the world itself; and even when we read in holy writ that Cain was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a shepherd, we may conclude that Cain supplied Abel with fruit and grain of the earth for his nourishment, and Abel in return would furnish Cain with skins and wool for raiment and covering. Such were the rudiments of trade; which use, the parent of arts, in the course of time, has increased and brought to perfection: hence some built cities; others chose rather to live in tents, wandering at pleasure, without any certain settlement. Arts were discovered, and various professions, exercises, and trades were established, some out of mere necessity, and others for pleasure. But all this could not either be begun or maintained without a mutual correspondence among men, and by a reciprocal communication of their goods and of their industry; nay, to facilitate this correspondence, they formed themselves into different societies.

What (says the learned Huet, in his treatise of navigation) would Tubal Cain have done—(who was a blacksmith, as the scripture reports, and who has given birth to the fable of Vulcan)—what would he have done with those famous works in brass and iron of his, if he had not traded with them among his neighbours? But a mixture of cheats and tricks soon began to run through all these occupations: the wares were altered; they sold with false weights and false measures; justice and plaindealing were banished from trade; virtue and good manners began to be corrupted: in a word, the malice of men broke forth in that unbounded manner, that Heaven was provoked to destroy almost the whole race by the deluge. However it is certain that trade had greatly advanced before the flood; and this will appear by considering the fabric and wonderful structure of the ark; how many materials were employed! how many tools, how many workmen! what machines, and what industry! Can we believe that Noah had in his own warehouse, or in his family, all that was convenient or necessary for the execution of a design so great? So that without doubt there must at that time have been some commerce among men, who drove a trade by the help of beasts of burden, as horses, camels, asses, and elephants; and by some machines for carriage, as carts, waggons, and sledges. And we may believe, that men in those days were not without some knowledge of the use of rivers, small gulfs, and the coasts of the sea, whether by the means of floats of rushes, wood, or any other materials which could swim upon the water; and it may be also they had some knowledge of the quality of the air, whether in blad-

BOOK VII. ders or other inventions, capable of sustaining their burdens upon the water: but it is improbable that their industry reached to the building of ships, either great or small; for if navigation had already been found out, how many would have avoided the rage of the deluge, which God caused to be universal, excepting only Noah and his family!

CHAP. XVI.

Of commerce after the deluge by land and sea.

THE confusion of languages followed the flood; as did also the dispersion of the people. Trade then became more difficult, but much more necessary: people then, upon leaving their native country to inhabit others, soon found the want of many conveniences which they had in their first station, and met with many others unknown to them and their fellows. Thus they made use of what they had now discovered, and supplied their wants from abroad. This was first begun between neighbour and neighbour, and so spread itself by degrees to countries more remote, and at last even to the end of the earth. The sea was at first the chief obstacle, but in progress of time it was turned to the greatest use by the invention of navigation, which may be ascribed to Noah as the first author in his fabric of the ark. We may easily believe that this curious structure, which had been so beneficial, had been imitated with the greatest care, and contributed largely towards the dispersion of nations, which happened soon after the deluge: and by this means were introduced two sorts of commerce, that by land and that by sea.

The plains and deserts were the right of the first possessors, who held them for a long time without making any division, and the more powerful among them kept possession of some particular places. These new proprietors established their dwellings, and cultivated those lands which they enjoyed, leaving the rest to the liberty of those who followed the feeding of cattle, living in tents, and often changing their habitation, and seeking the best pastures for their flocks.

Such was the state of the land of Canaan when Abraham was brought thither by God's command; and during the residence of his first descendants, Isaac, Jacob, and his twelve children, he led, for the most part, the life of a wanderer, such as is practised at this day among the Arabians of Nomadia, who are borderers upon those parts; and we do not find that Abraham paid any homage to the lords of the country to obtain the liberty of pasturage. And when he parted from his nephew Lot, to avoid the differences which began among the shepherds, he let him choose that part of the country which suited him best, without having regard to any proprietor. But when Isaac began to apply himself to the tillage of the land of Gerar, where, by the blessing of God, he reaped a hundredfold, it appears that it was by permission of Abimelech. And when Hamor gave invitation to Jacob and his children to establish themselves in his country, and incorporate themselves with his people, he proposed to him at the same time, and permitted him to cultivate the ground. And to persuade his own people to consent to this treaty, he set forth the vast extent of their lands, which were very capable of receiv-

BOOK VII. ing of those new inhabitants. And some give another reason, that they wanted people to till the ground.

We cannot observe that Abraham possessed as proprietor any one parcel of land among the Canaanites, before the purchase that he made with ready-money of the field of Ephron, for the burial of his wife Sarah. We find also that Jacob, at his return from Mesopotamia, made a purchase of a field from the children of Hamor, for the price of a hundred lambs. From which observations it is easy to observe, that when colonies were first planted, the men of the greatest power possessed and cultivated such lands as were the most proper for their use, leaving the others to the occupation of those whose riches consisted in cattle. But these countries, where so many lands yet remained in common through the fault of the inhabitants, did not continue always in the same uncultivated state; for when the Israelites were returned from their captivity in Egypt, and came to take possession of these lands, the spies, which Moses sent out to survey and give an account of the country, were filled with wonder at the largeness of the cities, and the number and power of the inhabitants.

The holy scripture does not afford us any example of trade more ancient than those caravans of Ishmaelites and Midianites, to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren. These men were on their return from Gilead, with their camels laden with spices, and other rich merchandises of that country, to be carried into Egypt, where they produced a great return by the use that was made of them there, for the embalming of the dead bodies of men. The

purchase which they made of Joseph, and their selling of him to Potiphar, Pharaoh's steward, informs us, that their trade was not confined only to the merchandises of Gilead, their country lying between Gilead and Egypt, which were kingdoms abounding in many different sorts of commodities, the inhabitants of these countries communicated to each other what they thought most proper, by constant returns, with such care as became men who designed to gain by their profession. We must observe, nevertheless, that when Jacob sent his children the second time into Egypt to buy corn, he supplied them with the most valuable merchandises of the country as a present to Joseph, the better to recommend them to him. These commodities were much the same with those which were traded for by the Ishmaelites and Midianites, and what I have before mentioned to be carried from Gilead into Egypt. CHAP. XVI.

The same Joseph soon undertook a commerce of much greater importance; for having discovered by dreams that not only Egypt and Canaan, but also the whole earth, would be sorely afflicted with a famine of seven years, he providently improved the seven preceding years of plenty, and laid up in the granaries of Pharaoh so great a quantity of corn, that he had not only enough to exchange for all the money and cattle of the Egyptians, but also to purchase for the king's use even all the lands of the kingdom, and to purchase the neighbouring countries. These examples of trade by land are the first that history has delivered to us. It is evident, from what has been said, that commerce did not consist only in the exchange of merchandises, but was also carried on with money; the children of Jacob sold

BOOK VII. their brother for ready money, and by the same means they purchased corn from the Egyptians; and Joseph is said to have filled the treasury of Pharaoh with the money which he received for his corn.

Sacred history does not furnish us with the least notice by which we can discover any commerce by sea, before the navigation which is mentioned in Solomon's time. It is nevertheless very true, that the Hebrews were acquainted both with the knowledge and the practice of it before the reign of that king; but it is probable they made no great advantages in it in comparison of their neighbours. History gives no account of any more ancient navigators than the Egyptians and Phœnicians; but those people, it is certain, were not the inventors of navigation.

Gen. x. 5. Noah had built his vessel long before these nations pretended to trade; and when the earth came to be divided among his children, and the islands and the peninsulas were made the portion of Japhet and his descendants, as Moses signifies, they could not take possession of them without a competent knowledge in the art of navigation.

It is supposed that the voyages made by Solomon's fleets to Ophir and Tarshish, were not the first trials that were made by the Hebrews in the sea commerce. They had lived too long among the Egyptians to be ignorant of their trade by the Red sea to all the known parts of the East; and when they were established in the land of Canaan, they had a nearer view of the industry and application of the Phœnicians to the sea-trade, and of the immense treasures which they gained by that practice. This was fully explained to them by the resistance they

met with from the numerous armies of the Phœnicians. Can we imagine that these tribes, who were placed so near the sea, that the tribe of Zabulon, for example, which was extended even to the shore and the gates of Sidon, could behold the inhabitants of this great city, so famous for its navigation, bring home from time to time such abundance of riches, without being tempted to take part with them, or at least to associate themselves with them, as Solomon did afterwards with the Syrians. When, therefore, Josephus tells us, that Judæa is not situated on the sea; and that the people of that country did not drive any trade, but that their whole thoughts were turned to agriculture, we must understand the historian of Judæa in general, that there was but a little part, comparatively, which was situated upon the sea, and that the Jews did not exercise any trade or commerce directly of themselves; neither did they make merchandise their principal aim, as did the people of Phœnicia. CHAP. XVI. Contra Apion.

CHAP. XVII.

Of navigation. The ark of Noah.

THE ancient Hebrews, in the infancy of their republic, had small concern with navigation, their time being employed chiefly in tillage and a pastoral life; but yet the most notable vessel that ever floated upon the waters was built by Noah, one of their renowned ancestors, and therefore may properly be considered and explained among the antiquities of that nation.

This vessel was built by the command and direc-

BOOK VII. tion of the Great Architect of the universe, who gave express orders of what materials, and after what form and model it should be made. It was framed in the neighbourhood of Babylon, round about which was a great quantity of cypress trees, called *gopher wood* in the scripture, which were used by Noah for this purpose, and it was pitched with bitumen, of which there was plenty thereabouts, not only within, to give a wholesome scent among so many beasts, but without, to make the ark more glib and slippery in the water. Its form was not like that of our modern ships or boats; for it was not made sharp forward, to cut the waves, but broad like a chest, and therefore had a flat bottom with a cover or roof, that was made shelving, that the rain might slide off. We do not find it had any rudder, being steered, as is supposed, by angels; and because it might have been injured if it had lain upon the earth so long as it was in building, which was a hundred years, it was probably set upon feet, both to preserve it, and to give the water the more room to get under it and to bear it up. The length of it was three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty, and the height of it thirty. It had a door in one of the sides, conjectured to be the eastern, and a window to let light into the several apartments; and it was three stories high.

Gen. vi. 14, 15, &c.

Elieser in Pirke, c. 23.

A Jewish rabbi places Noah and his family in the uppermost story, the birds in the middle, and the beasts in the lowest; but he forgets to leave a place for their provision. And therefore they make a better distribution, who think the beasts were bestowed in the lower story, and that the third served for the birds, with Noah and his family, the

second, between both, being left for the stores that were to be laid in of meat and drink for them all. The creeping things, some think, might well live in the space between the lower story and the bottom of the ark. Besides Noah and his family, there were contained in the ark (as I understand it) two of every species of unclean animals, and seven of every species of clean creatures, and provisions for them all for the time they were confined there, which was a whole year. A pair of unclean beasts were sufficient to preserve the species; and seven of the clean were preserved, that there might be some for sacrifice when they came out of the ark, and, if there were occasion, for food, if other provisions did not hold out. The distinction of beasts, clean and unclean, being made by the law of Moses, has given some a colour to say, that he wrote this history of Noah after the Israelites came out of Egypt, and received the law, which made him deliver himself in this style. But it may be answered to this, that though with respect to men's food, the distinction of clean and unclean creatures was not before the law, yet some were accounted fit for sacrifice, and others not fit, from the beginning; and then clean beasts, in the case before us, are such as are not rapacious, which were not to be offered unto God. In short, the rite of sacrificing being before the flood, this difference of beasts was also before it. The only question is, How men came to make this difference? Some imagine that they considered the nature of beasts, and by common reason determined that ravenous creatures were unfit for sacrifice. But it is more probable that they had directions from God for this, as they had for sacrificing; which, though

BOOK VII. they be not upon record, yet, I think, are rather to be supposed, than to conceive men were left in such matters to their own discretion. Abarbanel indeed remarks, that "Noah out of his profound wisdom "discerned the clean from the unclean;" and if he had stopped here, and not added that "he discerned "the difference from their natures," he had said the truth; for he being a prophet, may be thought to have had instructions from above about such matters, though others, who first were taught to sacrifice, had them before him.

Gen. vii. 2.

There is another difficulty; How Noah could bring together all these creatures into the ark? The answer is, That they came by the care of God, who had made them, and moved them to it. I know a rabbi among the Jews is commonly censured for saying the angels that govern every species of creatures brought them thither. But (setting aside the opinion of angels peculiarly presiding over every kind of creature) I see no incongruity in affirming, that God, by the ministry of his angels, brought them to the ark: it is rather agreeable to the holy scriptures, which represent the Divine Majesty employing the service of these celestial spirits in most of the affairs of this lower world.

Elieser in Pirke, c. 13.

This description, given by Moses of Noah's ark, has given occasion to some heretics of old, and to atheistical scoffers in these latter times, to raise objections, such as they think unanswerable, against the truth and authority of the holy scriptures. The dimensions of it are set down to be three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height; which being compared with the things it was to contain, it seemed to them, upon a general

Wilkins' Real Character, p. ii. c. 5.

view, (and they confidently affirmed accordingly,) that it was utterly impossible for this ark to hold so vast a multitude of animals, with a whole year's provision of proper food for each of them. CHAP. XVII.

This objection seemed so considerable both to some of the ancient fathers, and of our later divines, who were otherwise learned and judicious men, but less versed in philosophy and mathematics, that they have been put to miserable shifts for the solving of it. Origen and St. Austin, and several other considerable authors, do, for the avoiding of this difficulty, affirm, that Moses, being skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, doth by the measure of cubits, here applied to the ark, understand the Egyptian geometrical cubit, each of which, say they, did contain six of the vulgar cubits, namely, nine foot. But this does upon several accounts seem very unreasonable, because it does not appear that there was any such measure amongst the Egyptians or Jews, styled the *geometrical cubit.* And if there were, yet there is no particular reason why this sense should be applied to the word cubit here, rather than in other places. It is said of Goliath, that his height was six cubits and a span; which being understood of the geometrical cubit, will make him fifty-four foot high, and consequently his head must be about nine foot in the height or diameter of it, which must needs be too heavy for David to carry. 1 Sam. xvii. 4.

Others, not satisfied with this solution, think they have found a better answer, by asserting that the stature of mankind being considerably larger in the first ages of the world, therefore the measure of the cubit must be larger likewise, and perhaps double to now what it is, which will much enlarge the capa-

BOOK VII. city of the ark. But neither will this afford any reasonable satisfaction; for if they will suppose men to be of a much bigger stature then, it is but reasonable that the like should be supposed of other animals also: in which case, this answer amounts to nothing.

Ezek. xliii. 15. Others will have the sacred cubit to be here intended, which is said to be a hand's breadth longer than the civil cubit; but there is not any reason or necessity for this. And it is generally believed that the sacred cubit was used only in the measure of sacred structures, as the tabernacle and temple.

This seeming difficulty is much better solved by John Buteo in the tract *de Arca Noe;* where, in supposing the cubit to be the same with what we now call a foot and a half, he proves mathematically that there was a sufficient capacity in the ark for the containing all those things it was designed for. But because there are some things liable to exception in the philosophical part of that discourse, particularly in his enumeration of the species of animals, several of which are fabulous, some not distinct species, others, that are true species, being left out, therefore I conceive it may not be improper in this place to offer another account of those things.

It is plain in the description which Moses gives of the ark, that it was divided into three stories, each of them of ten cubits, or fifteen foot high, besides one cubit allowed for the declivity of the roof in the upper story. And it is agreed upon, as most probable, that the lower story was assigned to contain all the species of beasts; the middle story for their food; and the upper story, in one part of it for the birds and their food, and the other part

for Noah, his family, and utensils. Now it may clearly be made out that each of these stories was of a sufficient capacity for the containing all those things to which they are assigned.

For the more distinct clearing up of this, I shall first lay down several tables of the divers species of beasts that were to be received into the ark, according to the different kinds of food wherewith they are usually nourished, containing both the number appointed for each of them, namely, the clean by sevens, and the unclean by pairs, together with a conjecture for the greater facility of the calculation, what proportion each of them may bear either to a beef, a sheep, or a wolf; and then what kind of room may be allotted to the making of sufficient stalls for their reception.

BOOK VII.

Beasts feeding on Hay.

Numb.	Name.	Proportion to Beeves.	Breadth of Stalls.
2	Horse	3	20 feet
2	Ass	2	12
2	Camel	4	20
2	Elephant	8	36
7	Bull	7	40
7	Urus	7	40
7	Bisons	7	40
7	Bonasus	7	40
7	Buffalo	7	40
7	Sheep	1	30
7	Stepciseros	1	
7	Broad-tail	1	
7	Goat	1	30
7	Stone-buck	1	
7	Shamois	1	
7	Antelope	1	
7	Elk	7	30
7	Hart	4	30
7	Buck	3	20
7	Rein-deer	3	20
7	Roe	2	36
2	Rhinoceros	8	
2	Camelopard	6	30
2	Hare	2 Sheep	
2	Rabbit		
2	Marmotto		
		92	514

Beasts feeding on Fruits, Roots, and Insects.

Numb.	Name.	Proportion to Sheep.	Breadth of Stalls.
2	Hog	4	
2	Baboon	2	
2	Ape	2	
2	Monkey		
2	Sloth		
2	Porcupine	7	20 feet
2	Hedge-hog		
2	Squirrel		
2	Guinea-pig		
2	Ant-bear	2	
2	Armadillo	2	
2	Tortoise	2	
		21	20

Carnivorous Beasts.

Numb.	Name.	Proportion to Wolves.	Breadth of Stalls.
2	Lion	4	10 feet
2	Bear	4	10
2	Tiger	3	8
2	Pard	3	8
2	Ounce	2	6
2	Cat	2	6
2	Civet cat		
2	Ferret		
2	Polecat		
2	Martin		
2	Stoat	3	6
2	Weasel		
2	Castor		
2	Otter		
2	Dog	2	6
2	Wolf	2	6
2	Fox		
2	Badger	2	6
2	Jackal		
2	Caraguya		
		27	72

BOOK VII. In this enumeration I do not mention the mule, because it is a mongrel production, and not to be reckoned as a distinct species. And though it be most probable that the several varieties of beeves, namely, that which is styled *urus*, *bisons*, *bonasus*, and *buffalo*, and those other varieties reckoned under sheep and goats, be not distinct species from bull, sheep, and goat, there being much less difference betwixt these than there is betwixt several dogs; and it being known by experience what various changes are frequently occasioned in the same species by several countries, diets, and other accidents, yet I have, *ex abundante*, to prevent all cavilling, allowed them to be distinct species, and each of them to be clean beasts, and consequently such as were to be received in by sevens. As for the morse, seal, turtle, or sea-tortoise, crocodile, senembi, these are usually described to be such kind of animals as can abide in the water, and therefore I have not taken them into the ark, though, if that were necessary, there would be room enough for them, as will shortly appear. The serpentine kind, snake, viper, slow-worm, lizard, frog, toad, might have sufficient space for their reception, and for their nourishment, in the drain or sink of the ark, which was probably three or four foot under the floor for the standings of the beasts. As for those lesser beasts, rat, mouse, mole, as likewise for the several species of insects, there can be no reason to question but that they may find sufficient room in several parts of the ark, without any particular stalls appointed for them.

Though it seems most probable that before the flood, both men, beasts, and birds, did feed only upon vegetables, as may appear from that place of scrip-

ture, *And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat,* compared with the ninth chapter, and the third verse; where, after the flood, when the productions of the earth were become of less efficacy and vigour, and consequently less fit for nourishment, God saith to Noah, *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.* Yet because this proof is not so very cogent to convince a captious adversary, but that he may still be apt to question whether the rapacious kinds of beasts and birds, who, in the natural frame of their parts, are peculiarly fitted for the catching and devouring of their prey, did ever feed upon herbs and fruits; therefore to prevent such cavils, I shall be content to suppose that those animals, which are now predatory, were so from the beginning: upon which it will be necessary to inquire what kind of food might be proper and sufficient for them during their abode in the ark. Now it is commonly known, that the ruminant kind are usually the prey for the most rapacious kind of beasts.

CHAP. XVII. Gen. i. 29, 30.

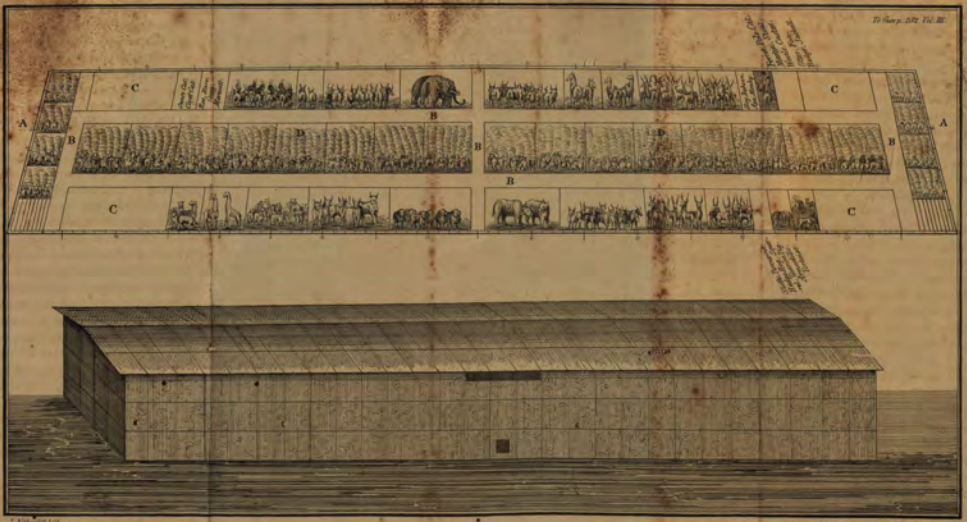
It appears by the foregoing tables, that the beasts of the rapacious carnivorous kinds, to be brought into the ark by pairs, were but forty in all, or twenty pairs; which upon a fair calculation are supposed equivalent, as to the bulk of their bodies and their food, unto twenty-seven wolves. But for greater

BOOK VII. certainty, let them be supposed equal to thirty wolves; and let it be further supposed, that six wolves will every day devour a whole sheep, which all men will readily grant to be more than sufficient for their necessary sustenance. According to this computation, five must be allotted to be devoured for food each day of the year, which amounts in the whole to one thousand eight hundred twenty-five.

Upon these suppositions, there must be convenient room in the lower story of the ark to contain the forementioned sorts of beasts, which were to be preserved for the propagating of their kinds, besides one thousand eight hundred twenty-five sheep, which were to be taken in as food for the rapacious beasts.

And though there might seem no just ground of exception, if these beasts should be stowed close together, as is now usual in ships, when they are to be transported for any long voyage, yet I shall not take any such advantage, but afford them such fair stalls, or cabins, as may be abundantly sufficient for them in any kind of posture, either standing, or lying, or turning themselves, as likewise to receive all the dung that should proceed from them for a whole year.

And that the ark was of a sufficient capacity for these purposes, will appear from the following diagram: in which there is a partition at each end of the ark, marked AA, of fifteen foot wide; and the breadth of the ark being seventy-five foot, these partitions must contain in them five areas of fifteen foot square; and an area of five foot square being sufficient to contain four sheep, therefore one of fifteen foot square must be capable of thirty-six sheep: allowing one of these areas at each end for stairs,


To Chap. 1.
Vol. III.
A
B
C
D
J. Nathaniel Lithog.

there will eight of them remain (viz. four at each end) to be reckoned upon for the containing of sheep, which eight will be capable of receiving two hundred eighty-eight sheep. CHAP. XVII.

Besides these partitions, at the end there are five several passages, marked BB, of seven foot wide, for the more convenient access to the several stalls: the four areas on the side, marked CC, designed for stalls, are each of them eighteen foot wide, and about two hundred foot long. And the two middle areas, marked DD, are each of them twenty-five foot wide, and about two hundred foot long.

Supposing the two middle areas to be designed for sheep, an area of twenty-five foot square must be capable of a hundred; and there being sixteen of these, they must be capable of sixteen hundred sheep; which being added to the former number of two hundred eighty-eight, will make one thousand eight hundred eighty-eight, somewhat more than one thousand eight hundred twenty-five, the number assigned for those that were to be taken in for food.

The four side areas, marked CC, being each of them eighteen foot wide, and two hundred foot long, will be more than sufficient to contain the several beasts which were to be preserved for the propagating of their kind; for which, in the foregoing tables, there is allotted to the length of their stalls only six hundred and six foot, besides the largeness of the stalls allotted to each of them. So that there will be near upon two hundred foot overplus for the reception of any other beasts, not yet enumerated or discovered.

As for that fashion of the keel of ships now in

BOOK VII. use, whereby they are fitted for passage through the waters, and to endure the motion of the waves, this would not have been convenient for the business here designed, the ark being intended only for a kind of float to swim above water, the flatness of its bottom did render it much more capacious for the reception of those many living creatures which were to be contained in it. And though towards the end of the flood, when it began to abate, God is said to Gen. viii. 1. *make a wind to pass over the earth, whereby the waters were asswaged;* yet it is not likely that in the time of the deluge, when the whole earth was overflowed, that there should be any such rough and boisterous winds as might endanger a vessel of this figure, such winds usually proceeding from dry land.

From hence it may be evident, that there was sufficient room in the lower story for the convenient reception of all sorts of beasts that are yet known, and probably for those other kinds that are yet unknown to these parts of the world.

The next thing to be cleared up is the capacity of the second story, for containing a year's provision of food. In order to which, it is to be observed, that the several beasts feeding on hay were before, upon a fair calculation, equal to ninety-two beeves: but to prevent all kind of cavils which may be made at the proportioning of them, let them be as a hundred, besides the one thousand eight hundred twenty-five sheep taken in for food: but now, because these are to be devoured by five *per diem*, and therefore the year's provision to be made for them is to be reckoned but as for half that number, viz. nine hundred and twelve. These being divided by seven, to bring

them unto a proportion with the beeves, will amount to one hundred and eighty; which added to the former number make two hundred and eighty, suppose three hundred. So then, according to this supposition, there must be sufficient provision of hay in the second story to sustain three hundred beeves for a whole year.

Now it is observed (saith Buteo) by Columella, who was very well versed in the experiments of husbandry, that thirty or forty pounds of hay is ordinarily sufficient for an ox for one day, reckoning twelve ounces in the pound; but we will suppose forty of our pounds. And it is asserted by Buteo, upon his own trial and experience, that a solid cubit of dried hay, compressed as it was to be, when it hath lain any considerable time in mows or reeks, doth weigh about forty pounds. So that for three hundred beeves for a whole year, there must be one hundred nine thousand and five hundred such cubits of hay, that is, three hundred sixty-five multiplied by three hundred. Now the second story being ten cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, must contain one hundred and fifty thousand solid cubits, which is more by forty thousand five hundred than what is necessary for so much compressed hay, and will allow space enough both for any kind of beams and pillars necessary for the fabric, as likewise for other repositories for such fruits, roots, grain, or seed, as may be proper for the nourishment of any of the other animals; and likewise for such convenient passages and apertures in the floor, as might be necessary for the putting down of the hay to the stalls in the lower story. From which it is manifest, that the second story was

BOOK VII. sufficiently capacious of all those things designed for it.

And then, as for the third story, there can be no colour of doubt but that one half of it will be abundantly sufficient for all the species of birds, though they should be twice as many as are generally enumerated, together with food sufficient for their sustenance; because they are generally but of small bulk, and may easily be kept in several partitions or cages over one another. Nor is there any reason to question, but that the other half would afford space enough both for Noah's family and utensils.

Upon the whole matter, it doth, of the two, appear more difficult to assign a sufficient number and bulk of necessary things to answer the capacity of the ark, rather than to find sufficient room for those several species of animals already known. But because it may be reasonably presumed that there are several other species of beasts and birds, especially in the undiscovered parts of the world, besides those generally enumerated, therefore it is but reasonable to suppose the ark to be of a bigger capacity than what may be sufficient for the things already known; and upon this account it may be asserted, that if such persons, who are most expert in philosophy and mathematics, were now to assign the proportion of a vessel that might be suitable to the end here proposed, they could not, all things considered, find out any more accommodate to those purposes than those here mentioned.

From what has been said it may appear, that the measure and capacity of the ark, which some atheistical irreligious men make use of as an argument against the scripture, ought rather to be esteemed a

most rational confirmation of the truth and divine authority of it, especially if it be well considered that in those first and ruder ages of the world, when men were less versed in arts and philosophy, and therefore probably more obnoxious to vulgar prejudices than now they are, yet the capacity and proportions of the ark are so well adjusted to the things it was to contain; whereas, if it had been a mere human invention, it is most probable that it would have been contrived according to those wild apprehensions, which, as I said before, do naturally arise from a more confused and general view of things, as much too big, as now such men are apt to think it too little for those ends and purposes to which it was designed.

CHAP. XVIII.

The trade to Ophir and Tarshish.

THE first account to be found in history, sacred or profane, of the Hebrews using the sea in a mercantile way, was in the reign of David, a valiant and enterprising prince; who not only by many victories enlarged the bounds of his empire, but having subdued the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it into a province, became master of two seaport towns upon the Red sea, Elath and Esiongeber, which then belonged to that kingdom; and observing the advantage that might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely made use of the opportunity, and there began to establish a trade. There are two places mentioned in scripture, to which from these ports a trade was carried on, that is, Ophir and Tarshish: from the former of these David, in

Prideaux's Connect. part i. book i.

1 Chron. xxix. 4.

BOOK VII. his time, made great advantage; for the three thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which he gave to the temple, seem to be of that gold of Ophir which his fleets in several voyages had brought him from thence; for what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered nations, and the public revenues of his kingdom, is before mentioned in the history, and amounted to a prodigious sum. The three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, which he added, was over and above this, *and out of his own proper goods,* or private estate, which he had besides what belonged to him as king: and how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than from the great returns which arose from this traffick. For the gold alone amounted to above one and twenty millions of our money, besides the seven thousand talents of refined silver, which were included in the same gift.

1 Chron. xxix. 3.

After the death of David, Solomon carried on the same trade to Ophir, and brought from thence in one voyage four hundred and fifty talents of gold, which amounted to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds of our sterling money. This prince mightily improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business and purposes of it: for not being perplexed with the fatigues of war, as his father David was, he had greater opportunities to attend to it: and therefore, for the better establishment of it, he went in person to Elath and Esiongeber, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both those ports,

2 Chron. xviii. 17.

and the settling of all advantages which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffick, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts, where the sea, on which those ports lay, opened a passage. But his principal care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants as might be best able to serve him in this design; for which purpose he brought thither, from the seacoasts of Palestine, as many as he could procure of those who had there applied themselves to the sea, especially of the Syrians, whom his friend and ally, Hiram king of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers; and these were the most useful to him in this design. 1 Kings ix 27.

The Syrians were in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in maritime affairs, and therefore were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleet through long voyages: but the use of the compass being then unknown, the way of navigation was, in those times, only by coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade succeeded so far, and was so much improved under the wise management of Solomon, that from thence he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom; so that he made silver to be at Jerusalem as the stones of the street; by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. 1 Kings x. 23. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27.

After the division of the kingdom, Edom being of

BOOK VII. that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on this trade from those two ports, especially from Esiongeber, which they chiefly made use of till the time of Jehoshaphat: but that prince having lost his fleet there, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir, in partnership with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. There lay near the mouth of it a ridge of rocks, resembling the backbone of a man; (which gave it the name of Esiongeber;) and as this fleet was passing out of the port, they were, by a sudden gust of wind, sent purposely by God, for the punishment of this confederacy, driven upon those rocks, where they were all broken to pieces and lost: for the avoiding therefore the like mischief for the future, the station of the king's ships was afterwards removed to Elath, from whence Jehoshaphat, the next year after, sent out another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel, and we are told in another place of his sending out a fleet for Ophir, in which he would not permit Ahaziah to have any partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by Jehoshaphat; the first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the other without it. And thus this affair was carried on from the time of David till the death of Jehoshaphat; for till then the land of Edom was all in the hands of the kings of Judah, and was wholly governed by a deputy, or viceroy, there placed by them.

1 Kings xxii. 48.

1 Kings xxii. 49.

But when Jehoram succeeded Jehoshaphat, and God, for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that prince, had withdrawn his pro-

tection from him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac, did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck, after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several generations, that is, from the reign of David till that time; for on Jehoram's revolt from God, the Edomites revolted from him, and having expelled his viceroy, chose them a king of their own, and under his conduct recovered their ancient liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the kings of Judah. CHAP. XVIII. Gen. xxvii. 40.

From this time the Jewish traffick through the Red sea had an interruption till the reign of Uzziah: but he, in the very beginning of his reign, having recovered Elath again to Judah, fortified it anew, and having driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their old traffick, which was from thence carried on, and continued till the reign of Ahaz. But then Resin, king of Damascus, having, in conjunction with Pekah, king of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah, he took the advantage of it to seize Elath, and driving out the Jews from thence, planted it with Syrians, designing to draw to himself the whole profit of that traffick to the southern seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped by having that port. But the next year after, Tiglath-pileser having conquered Resin, and subdued the kingdom of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then belonging to his new conquest, and without having any regard to his friend and ally king Ahaz, or the just claim he had to it, kept it ever after, and by that means put an end to all that great advantage which the Jews till then had raised from this traffick, and transferred it to the Syrians; for though they did not always carry it on

BOOK VII. with the same benefit and success as in the time of king Solomon, yet, as long as they had it in their hands, they sensibly felt the importance of it. It included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red sea; but after Resin had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it restored to their possession again. From that time, all the merchandise that came that way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was carried elsewhere; but at what place the Syrians fixed their principal mart for it, is difficult to find out.

Many and great are the disputes among learned men concerning the situation of Ophir and Tarshish in the eastern part of the world. Some contend that Ophir was the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coasts of Africa, a little without the Straits of Babelmandel. Others will have it to have been the island anciently called Taprobana, now Ceylon: and for its being an island they produce the authority of Eupolemus (an old author, quoted by Eusebius); for speaking of David, he says of him, "that he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia, and "from thence sent metal-men to the island of Urphe, "(or Ophir,) situated in the Red sea, which was "fruitful in yielding abundance of gold, and the "metal-men brought it from thence to Judæa." But this being a question no way to be decided but from the scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, first, that from Elath to Tarshish was a voyage of three years going and coming. But in what time the voyage to Ophir was completed is not said; and that therefore Tarshish might be somewhere in the East-Indies, but Ophir might be nearer home, within

Præp. Evang. lib. ix.

1 Kings x. 22.

the reach of those seas. Secondly, that the commodities brought from Tarshish were gold and silver and ivory and apes and peacocks; and those of Ophir were gold and almug trees and precious stones: and therefore any place in the southern, or great Indian sea, at the distance of a then three years' voyage from Elath, which can best furnish the merchants with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, may be guessed to be the Tarshish of the holy scriptures; and any place within the compass of the same southern sea, that can furnish them with gold, almug trees, and precious stones, and in that quantity of gold as Solomon brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be Ophir. Only thus much may be said justly, that if the southern part of Arabia did furnish the world in those times with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity, (as good authors say,) they that would have the Ophir of the holy scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best foundation for their conjecture; but more than conjecture no one can have in this matter. As to what Eupolemus asserts, that Ophir was an island in the Red sea, it is to be observed, that he does not mean the Arabian gulf, which lies between Arabia and Egypt, and is now commonly called the Red sea, but the great southern ocean, which, extending itself between India and Africa, washes up to the coast of Arabia and Persia; where it appearing of a reddish colour, by reason of the fierceness of the sunbeams constantly bearing upon it in that hot climate, it was therefore called the Red sea; and this alone was that which was truly and properly called so by the ancients.

These were the principal instances in which the

BOOK VII. old Hebrews were concerned in affairs of traffick and navigation, which indeed seemed to have been predicted by Moses many ages before, when he foretold (particularly of the tribe of Zebulon) that they should *suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand;* which no doubt implies the importation of many sorts of merchandise, particularly of gold and silver and precious stones, which are digged out of the bowels of the earth.

Deut. xxxiii. 19.

CHAP. XIX.

Of poetry among the Hebrews.

Antiquities Sacred and Profane translated, Disc. 1.

ALL the eastern nations (says father Calmet, a Benedictine, in one of his dissertations) were naturally of a refined temper and lively passions; and as they were the people of the world the first civilized, so were they the first who cultivated and improved by art an innate inclination to music and poetry. Of all the ancient oriental writings, none but those of the Hebrews have reached our times: the remains, therefore, we have of the Hebrew poetry are in the holy scripture; where we find that the Hebrews likewise made use of this art in their religious worship.

All the poetical works in the scriptures are either psalms and hymns, to express the various affections of the mind; or collections of moral sentences, to instruct men in their duty. The largest and most ancient of these works is the Book of Job, composed of both the forementioned particulars; for as the main hope and design of it is this great and important point of morality, that God sometimes afflicts

good men, not to punish them, but to exercise and brighten their virtues; so likewise the sentiments and maxims that relate to the justice of God and the methods of his providence, to the reward of virtue and punishment of vice, to an entire resignation to the Divine will, and the peace and security of a good conscience, are fully handled: and moreover, the affliction of Job, and the indignation of his three friends, are drawn to the life.

The Proverbs are nothing else but so many rules of moral duty, as are several of the Psalms: but these last, for the most part, as well as all the songs and hymns that are dispersed up and down the scriptures, express the affections of the mind towards God or towards man. Those that are addressed to God, are either to adore, laud, and magnify his holy name, or to return thanks for his benefits, or to ask pardon for past offences, or to implore some future temporal or spiritual blessing. These are the subjects of the greatest part of the sacred hymns; the rest are employed in expressing the passions of grief, joy, indignation, hatred, and the like, whose object is either the person speaking, or other men represented generally under the character of the righteous or wicked.

Poetry, so full of moving and affecting circumstances, must of course, as to its figures and expressions, be very noble and sublime; if it be true that the energy or force of figures, and the true sublimity of style, are the natural effects of the passions. Accordingly we find this to be the great and distinguishing beauty of the Hebrew poetry; in this point no poetry excels, if any equals it. All is figurative, and the figures are frequently and suddenly changed,

BOOK VII. and not only the figures, but the persons also who are speaking, often and insensibly vary.

One while it is the prophet, another while it is God himself; now again it is the righteous man, or the sinner, that speaks; sometimes a voice and utterance are given even to inanimate things, as rocks and mountains and rivers, and the like. The majesty of God is displayed under strong and lively images: he is represented as sitting upon the cherubims, and riding upon the wings of the wind: at his wrath, the earth shakes and trembles: at his rebuke, the foundations of the world are discovered. The similes and allusions are thick sown, and are all taken from things obvious and familiar to those for whom they were written: for the palm trees and cedars, the lions and eagles, so frequently alluded to, were things well known to the inhabitants of Palestine. For this reason, we must not, from our notions of things, judge of the other comparisons which appear to us less noble and beautiful; neither are we to imagine that every word and circumstance of a similitude are to be applied; the resemblance generally falls upon some one single circumstance, and the rest are added, not as parts of the comparison, but to give some agreeable and natural image of the thing from whence the comparison is taken.

As for the poetic style, it is so different from the prose, that it is in a manner quite another language. This difference arises from the many words and phrases that are not the same with those in the prose; from the tropes and figures, that are very frequent and bold; from the construction, which is very irregular, and supposes abundance of words to

be understood. This style likewise abounds with repetitions, and the same thoughts are expressed twice over in different terms.

Each song and each psalm is a complete piece, whose parts follow one another in a natural order: sometimes there is a connexion for several whole psalms together; and some pieces have no necessary connexion, and are composed after the acrostic manner, according to the order of the letters of the alphabet, that they might, in all likelihood, be the less burdensome to the memory: of this kind are the Lamentations of Jeremiah, several Psalms, as the thirty-fourth, the hundred and nineteenth, and Solomon's description of a virtuous wife, with which he concludes his Proverbs. It is observable of the Book of Proverbs, of great part of Job, and of several of the psalms, whose subjects are purely moral matters, that the want of tender and moving sentiments is amply compensated by beautiful paintings, fine metaphors, and noble comparisons, from whence is derived the name of *parables* or *proverbs*. The obscurity of the style is no greater than what is necessary to exercise the mind in an agreeable manner, whilst the important truths, conveyed under such natural and lively images, make deep impressions on the heart; and therefore, as Moses's poetry is the more strong and masculine, that of Solomon seems to be the more refined and polite.

All then that we can know of the Hebrew poetry is, the design, the thoughts, the figures, and the language. The knowledge of this last is, indeed, confined to those who are masters of the Hebrew tongue; others must be content to behold its beauties through the veil of a translation, which deprives them of all

BOOK VII. their lustre. Besides these, there are many more considerable charms and graces that are entirely unknown to us, and even to those Jews themselves that are best skilled in the Hebrew language; for the ancient pronunciation of this, as well as of all the other dead tongues, being entirely lost, we can have no notion of the harmony of the words and quantity of the syllables, wherein the whole beauty of verses consists.

The Hebrews never had, as we know of, any comedies, tragedies, epic poems, or any of that kind of poetry Plato calls *poetry of imitation*, or that imitates the manners of men. The Song of Solomon is so far a dramatic poem, as that different persons are introduced speaking. The same may be observed in the Psalms, and all the other poetical works in scripture, there being no poetry without it; but as Solomon's Song consists only of sentiments, it wants what seems absolutely necessary to dramatic and heroic poems, a continued scene of action. We have only in scripture, hymns, psalms, odes, or, as we call them, songs, that is to say, that kind of poetry which Plato affirms to be alone the most ancient.

The Psalter is a collection of a hundred and fifty psalms, composed upon different subjects, and by different hands. When one reads them at first in a cursory manner, they seem to be nothing else but repetitions of the same thing over and over; but the more one considers them, the more full one finds them of different thoughts, and of always new and surprising figures. Among others, the hundred thirty-ninth Psalm is an instance sublime and elevated, as well as of exquisitely fine and delicate sen-

timents: *O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me: thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising; thou knowest all my outward actions; and what is more, thou understandest my thoughts long before. Thou art about my path, and about my bed, and spiest out all my ways. For lo, there is not a word in my tongue, but thou, O Lord, knowest it altogether. And no wonder, for thou hast fashioned me behind and before, and laid thy hand upon me to preserve and guide me. Such knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me, I cannot attain unto it.* Then varying the figure, he breaks out on a sudden into this exclamation: *Whither shall I go then from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?* He takes in the whole extent of the universe, considered in all its dimensions: *If I climb up into heaven, thou art there: if I go down to hell, thou art there also.* And again, in a more noble figure; *If I take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea:* to this he does not coldly say, *It would be all in vain,* or, as he said in the foregoing verse, *Thou art there,* but makes use of a much more fine and elaborate thought, as of a man that accused himself of extreme folly in endeavouring to conceal himself from God; so far shall I be from flying from thy presence, that *even there also shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me:* what chimerical notions soever I may frame to myself, I can never think of subsisting one moment without thee, *though I could fly* (as I said) *on the wings of the morning, it would be thy hand that would guide me, and thy right hand that would support me.* Here he seems to have quite exhausted

BOOK VII. his imagination: but observe a new and more studied means of hiding himself from the all-seeing eye of God; *If I say, Peradventure the darkness shall cover me, then shall my night be turned into day:* still this is all mere folly and extravagance; *the darkness is no darkness with thee, but the night is as clear as the day; the darkness and light to thee are both alike.* Let our modern wits, after this, look upon the honest shepherds of Palestine as a company of rude and unpolished clowns; let them, if they can, produce from profane authors thoughts that are more sublime, more delicate, or better turned, not to mention the profound divinity and solid piety couched under these expressions.

By the light of this and other examples, we may discover an infinite number of the like beauties; for the Psalms every where abound with them; and not only the Psalms, but Job, where the poetry is generally more bold and sublime, and all the other poetical works of the scripture. Read, for instance, the song of Moses at the end of Deuteronomy, and the song of Barak and Deborah. But after all, to say nothing of the difference between our customs and manners, how very imperfect is our knowledge of the beauties of these works! It is certain, as has been observed, that all we know of the Hebrew poetry is confined to the design, the thoughts, and the figures. As for the language, none but those that are skilled in the Hebrew can judge of it; and where is the man that can boast he is a perfect master of that tongue? But for the beauties, I mean the harmony of the words, the measure of the verses, and the airs or tunes of the hymns and songs, perhaps there is not a man upon earth that knows any

thing of the matter; and every one knows how essential all these graces and ornaments are to poetry.

We are ignorant, likewise, of the manner of the singing and dancing that accompanied the divine hymns. We are sure, indeed, that they were sung, and that they were composed for that purpose, from their being styled *sir* or *hymns*, and *mizmor* or *psalm*, and from several express declarations of scripture, as at the passage through the Red sea, and from the inscription over the psalms, where frequent mention is made of the masters in music. Their singing, we find, was accompanied with dancing; for choirs, the scriptures so often speak of, are companies of dancing-men and dancing-women. Mention is made of dancings at the time of public rejoicings for victories, and at the celebration of some religious ceremonies; as at the procession made by David, when he brought back the ark of the covenant to Sion, and at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem, in the time of Nehemiah, where the two choirs, who had begun singing on the walls, came and made an end together in the temple. Our notions then of these sacred songs must needs be very imperfect, since we have nothing left us but the naked letter, stripped of all its external ornaments: they were, doubtless, other guess things in the mouth of the musician, set off with all the splendour and magnificence of the festivals they were designed for: and therefore to form a tolerable idea of their beauty, we must imagine ourselves placed in the temple of Solomon, amidst innumerable multitudes crowding the courts and galleries, and beholding there the altar loaded with victims, and surrounded

BOOK VII. with the priests, all clothed with white garments, and the Levites at a distance disposed into companies, some playing on instruments, others singing and dancing in a grave and solemn manner.

The most ancient and learned authors that have written upon the nature of the Hebrew poetry are Josephus, Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, whose great name and reputation have drawn in, for the most part, those who have since treated upon this subject to embrace their sentiments: they had been informed that the songs of Moses were writ in verse; and Josephus does not scruple to assure us in several places, that they were writ in heroic verse. Origen and Eusebius are of the same opinion, and St. Jerome very much improves the notion, and tells us, that the Psalter was composed of iambic, Alcaic, and Sapphic verses, like Pindar and Horace; and that the songs in Deuteronomy and Isaiah, the books of Job and Solomon, are written in hexameters and pentameters. He says that the song in Deuteronomy consists of iambic verses of four feet, just as the hundred and nineteenth and the hundred and forty-fifth psalms; whereas the hundred and eleventh and the hundred and twelfth psalms consist likewise of iambic verses but of three feet only. He observes in the Lamentations of Jeremiah a sort of Sapphic verses, and others of three measures; and in his preface to the Book of Job he remarks, that from these words, *Let the day perish wherein I was born*, that the verses are hexameters, composed of dactyls and spondees, intermixed here and there with other feet of the same measure, though not of the same number of syllables, because of the great variety of that language. Sometimes there is no regard to the

Antiq. lib. ii. c. ult. lib. iv. c. ult.

Præp. lib. xi. c. 3.

Præf. in Chronic. Euseb.

Deut. xxii.

quantity of syllables, and we find only a bare rhyme, or an agreeable cadence, which is discernible by those only who are instructed in the rules of poetry. In a word, he speaks of the Book of Psalms in several places as of a work consisting of lyric verses, like those of Pindar, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus, and Serenus. CHAP. XIX.

But, with great deference to the opinion of this father, it must be owned, that many of our learned critics in the Hebrew tongue cannot observe in the Psalms, and the other poetical works of scripture, the same feet and measures that St. Jerome saw there. The great Scaliger could not perceive the least signs of any feet in the verses of the ancient Hebrews; on the contrary, he asserts, that their language, as well as that of the Syrians, Arabians, and Abyssenes, is incapable of being confined to feet and measures. Augustinus d'Eugubio is no less warm for this opinion: he says, that the Hebrews have neither heroic nor iambic verses, nor any measures like those of the Greeks and Latins, but only some faint resemblances of them, such as are to be met with in the songs of the barbarians. One finds in their poetry certain cadences, which gives the style a different turn from prose; one observes a manner of expression, and certain figures, which make the language deviate from the common forms of speech. This kind of poetry is more simple, more natural, more majestic, and more becoming the greatness of God, than a poetry tied down to method and rules, in which it is extremely difficult to express in a natural manner the sentiments of the Spirit of God, without injuring at the same time the sublimity of the sense, and the loftiness of the thoughts. In Chronic. Euseb.

BOOK VII. Part iii. sect. 69.

A writer of some note, Gomarus, hath taken great pains, in his treatise, called *Lyra Davidis*, to find out what sort of numbers the songs in scripture consist of; but he has given no satisfaction to learned men, who think (as Capellus does, in his Animadversions upon that book) that all the Bible may be made verse, according to his method; nay, by his way of resolving sentences, all the orations of Tully and Demosthenes may be turned into verse of some sort or other. The author of Sepher Cosri seems to deal ingenuously, who, when the king of Cosri objects, that the songs of the Bible are not artificially composed, according to numbers and quantities of feet and syllables, makes the Jew answer, that the scripture poetry was of a nobler sort, not formed to tickle the ear, but to affect the heart, by the great height and elevation of the sense, together with lofty expressions, whereby men were moved to attend to it, and keep it in mind. And so much Abarbanel acknowledges, that no such verses, consisting in the number and quantity of syllables, are to be found either in the Bible or in the Talmud; either in the Mischna or the Gemara; but are of later invention among the Jews, in imitation of the Arabians, and other nations, among whom they dwell in this long captivity: yet in the scripture poetry there is a certain disposition of words, which makes them melodious, and fit to be sung to musical instruments, and so sententious, that they might be more easily remembered than simple narrations, though now, after so many ages, they cannot reduce this poetry to rules.

In Exod. xv.

When Moses writ, there was then no poetry reduced to the rules of art in any part of the world,

that we know of: had the Hebrew poetry been then or afterwards subjected to rules, would these rules be entirely unknown, now that the Oriental languages are so throughly and successfully studied? Besides, the manner in which the songs or hymns of scripture were composed, affords another proof against their opinion, who hold that they were made according to art, and the rules of a methodical poesy. These songs were, for the most part, extemporary productions, and the sudden effect of a divine and supernatural impulse. Now a piece of artificial poetry is incapable of being produced thus on a sudden, without any premeditation; and the divine impulse or inspiration allows no time to reflect on the rules of art. Moses immediately, upon the passage through the Red sea, breaks out into a song; and David composed several of his psalms in the midst of the greatest straits and difficulties, and in circumstances wherein it would have been a very hard matter for him to have been master of so much presence of mind, as the attention to the rules of an artificial poetry requires. The hymns and songs in the scripture were many times composed by women, or illiterate men, whose tongues were made use of but as mere instruments or organs by the Spirit of God. Will any one say that such persons commenced poets on a sudden, and uttered poems in rhyme, made according to the rules of the art of poetry? As for the style, and those enlivened, surprising, figurative, and sublime expressions to be frequently met with, it is no difficult matter for persons, without any previous study or art, but transported with a divine impulse, to break out into poetical forms of speech.

BOOK VII. So that the poetry of the ancient Hebrews consisted in the grandeur, nobleness, and sublimity of the thoughts and style; in the daringness of the figures; in lively and pathetic expressions; in a brief and concise manner of discourse; in a turn more florid, more enlivened, more expressive, more proper to paint and display the images of things before our eyes, than the common forms of speech: their poems were the productions of a happy genius animated and inspired by the Spirit of God, which, being carried by the divine impulse above the restraint of the rules of a methodical poetry, expressed its thoughts and sentiments in a sublime and poetical manner.

CHAP. XX.

Of music.

IT is remarkable that Moses throughout the whole Law says not a word concerning any music which was to accompany the sacrifices and religious feasts; only towards the end of the journeying through the wilderness, he ordered trumpets to be made, which were to be sounded at the time of the solemn sacrifices, and upon festival days, to give notice of the year of jubilee, the sabbatical year, and the beginning of the months, and, in time of war, to inspire the soldiers with courage. This is all we find in the writings of Moses concerning music with regard to religion. The Levites had nothing enjoined them in this matter; their business was only to serve in the tabernacle under the direction of the priests: they were not permitted so much as to blow the trumpets, a privilege reserved for the priests

Numb. x. 10.

alone. Things remained in this state till the time of David. CHAP. XX.

This religious prince had a great genius for music, and was a perfect master of all the instruments, and therefore resolved to introduce the use of music into the tabernacle: he believed it would contribute to the pomp and majesty of the choir-worship, and be a means to soften the stiff and rugged temper of the people. Besides, the number of Levites being now become exceeding great, it was the part of a prudent prince to find them employment suitable to the design of their original institution. To this end he composed hymns or songs, which were put into the hands of the Levites, with orders to study and sing the airs the songs were set to, before the Lord in the tabernacle, and at the celebration of religious ceremonies. When the temple was built, the affair of music was carried on with more order and greater magnificence; and after the Babylonish captivity it was again established, and continued in use till the utter destruction of the Jewish commonwealth by the armies of the Romans.

The singers were always very numerous in the temple; even they whose business it was to keep the doors, did, upon certain occasions, bear their part in the music: for instance, those of the family of Kore, who were doorkeepers in the house of the Lord, not only sung, but composed several psalms, which go under their name in the Psalter. We find likewise the Korhites among the singers in the reign of Jehoshaphat. There were four thousand doorkeepers, four thousand singers, besides four and twenty thousand Levites, appointed for the several offices of the temple: all these, except the chief of

1 Chron. xxvi. 1.

BOOK VII. the musicians and doorkeepers, served by turns. There were four and twenty courses, both of priests and of Levites, who constantly attended upon the service of the temple: over each course were set twelve chiefs, so that the chiefs of the priests, of the singers, of the doorkeepers, and other officers of the temple, were in all two hundred and eighty-eight.

Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, were the princes or presidents of all the temple-music in the reigns of David and Solomon. Asaph had four sons, Jeduthun six, and Heman fourteen; these four and twenty Levites, sons to the three grand presidents of the music, were set over four and twenty bands or companies of musicians. Each of them had under him eleven officers of an inferior rank, who presided over the other singers, and instructed them in their art.

1 Chron. xxv. 1, 3, 5, 6. These several companies seem to have been distinguished from one another by the instruments on which they played, and by their places in the temple.

1 Chron. vi. 33, 34, 39 Those of the family of Kohath stood in the middle, those of Merari on the left, and those of Gershon on the right hand. The sons of Jeduthun played on the *kinnor*, the sons of Asaph on the *nabal* or *psalterium*, and the sons of Heman on the *metsilothaim*, which were apparently a kind of small tinkling bells. By laying out thus their whole time and pains upon one single instrument, they rendered themselves more expert and dexterous in their business; and as they exercised the same art successively from father to son in the temple, before the whole nation, who assembled themselves three times every year, it was almost impossible they should fail of becoming excellent artists.

CHAP. XX.

I am apt to believe, though contrary to the opinion of the rabbins, that there were usually in the temple, upon great and solemn occasions, women who sung and played; and that they had their chiefs or presidents, who first struck up and tuned the psalm or hymn: these were commonly the Levites' daughters. All this was done with great decency and reservedness: they were not suffered to mix with the men, but made separate and distinct companies by themselves. Though this opinion differs from the generally received notion, yet it is sufficiently grounded in holy scripture. In numbering the children of Heman, one of the three grand presidents of the temple-music, there are reckoned in all twelve sons and three daughters. Now for what other reason are the daughters mentioned in this place, contrary to the constant custom of the scriptures, but only because they were of the same business with their brothers, and employed like them in singing the divine praises? In the ceremony of bringing the ark from Karjath-jearim to Jerusalem, we find choruses of young damsels, led by the presidents of music. Ezra, in his list of those he brought back with him from the Babylonish captivity, counts two hundred singing men and singing women; both the one and the other were doubtless designed for the service of the temple. The Chaldean Paraphrast upon Ecclesiastes says in express terms, *that Solomon introduced into the temple singing men and singing women.* And the ninth Psalm is addressed to Ben, or Banaias, one of the masters in music, of the band of young damsels.

1 Chron. xxv. 5.

Psalm lxviii. 26.

Ezra iii. 65. Neh. vii. 67.

Eccles. ii. 8.

Besides the temple-music, there was likewise a body of musicians belonging to the court; *I am this*

2 Sam. xix. 35.

BOOK VII. *day fourscore years old—can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women?* says Barzillai to David, when invited to go along with him to court. Solomon, who denied himself nothing
Eccles. ii. 8. his soul desired, was not unmindful of music: *I got me*, says he, *men singers and women singers.* I take Asaph to have been president of the king's music in
1 Chron. xxv. 2. the reign of David: he is said in scripture to *prophesy according to the order of the king.*

I do not find in scripture that the Hebrews had any music adapted to theatrical and dramatic performances; these were diversions they had no knowledge of. But they had poetry, and consequently music of all other kinds: we meet in scripture with songs for victories, invectives, thanksgivings, epithalamiums, songs of joy and grief, instructive and moral psalms, prayers, and praises. The Song of Songs is a sort of dramatic piece, though not of the nature of those that are acted on the stage, any more than the Psalms, wherein we observe dialogues between God and the Psalmist, or the righteous person. The book of Jasher, cited sometimes in Joshua and Samuel, seems to have been a history in verse, writ in that sort of ancient poetry, some re-
Laert. lib. i. mains whereof we have in the sayings of the old philosophers. The scriptures mention also songs at
Psalm lxix. 12. the time of vintage, and drinking catches: *The drunkards*, says the Psalmist, *make songs upon me.*
Isa. v. 11, 12. *Woe unto them*, says Isaiah, *that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink—and the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe are*
Amos vi. 5. *in their feasts: that sing*, as Amos expresses it, *to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David.*

Poetry, music, even playing on instruments, were made use of also by the Hebrews at their funerals. These funeral odes were sung, by way of ceremony, by the relations and friends of the deceased, or by mourners who were hired for that purpose. Whoever chanced to meet with a funeral pomp, was obliged, out of respect, to join the company, and condole with them. CHAP. XX. 2 Sam. i. 10. & iii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

There are many examples in scripture, of the wonderful effects of music among the Hebrews. Saul, when he was filled with a black and gloomy melancholy, infused by the Devil, to disturb his soul, found immediate ease by David's playing upon the harp in his presence; and when the same prince met a company of prophets with musical instruments in their hands, he felt himself immediately inspired, and fell to singing and prophesying among them. 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

An event still more extraordinary happened in the army of Jehoram king of Israel, Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and the king of Edom. These three princes were in a terrible consternation, when, after having marched seven days through the wilderness of Moab, they and their whole army were like to perish inevitably for want of water. Jehoshaphat, who had more religion than the other two, inquired whether there was not in the army a prophet of the Lord; and being told that Elisha was there, all the three kings went to him. Elisha, as soon as he saw the king of Israel, cried out, *What have I to do with thee? go and consult the prophets of thy father and of thy mother.* Jehoram made answer, *Hath the Lord brought hither three kings, to deliver them into the hand of the king of Moab? As the Lord of hosts liveth, before whom I stand,* (says Elisha,) 2 Kings iii. 13, 14, 15.

BOOK VII. *were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee; but now let a musician be sent for.* Accordingly the musician came; and whilst he was playing on his instrument, the hand of the Lord came upon Elisha, and he began to prophesy. The sight of the king of Israel, and the discourse he had with him, raised an emotion in the soul of the prophet; the sound of the music calmed his passion, and rendered him of a due temper to receive the impressions of the Spirit of God.

Though we cannot have a very distinct notion of the form and nature of all the musical instruments of the temple, yet their number alone is a sufficient argument of the great variety of their music; and this could not well be otherwise, considering how different the subjects of the psalms or hymns, still extant among us, are, and how various the objects or ends of their solemn assemblies. At the feast of the Passover, they rendered God thanks for their deliverance out of Egypt; at Pentecost, they celebrated the memory of the law, given at mount Sinai; at the solemn expiation, they begged pardon of God, with fasting and humiliation; at the feast of Tabernacles, they called to remembrance their journeying through the wilderness; and gave God thanks for the blessings he had bestowed upon his people in the past harvest.

CHAP. XXI.

The musical instruments used by the Hebrews.

THE musical instruments of the Hebrews I shall distinguish into three classes: stringed instruments;

wind instruments, or the several species of flutes; and the different sorts of drums, *tympana* and *crepitacula.* The stringed instruments were the *nable,* or *nèbhel,* and the *kinnor;* these have been already explained in a former part of this work. In this place it may only be observed, that Josephus says the *nebhels* belonging to the temple at Jerusalem were made of electrum, a very precious sort of metal; which perhaps might be true of those in his time; but we read expressly in the Kings and Chronicles, that Solomon made them of the wood of almugim.

Vol. i. b. 2. ch. 12.

Antiquities, lib. viii. ch. 2.

1 Kings x. 12.

2 Chron. ix. 11.

The wind instruments were trumpets and flutes: *shaphar* is the general name made use of by the Hebrews to express their trumpets by. They had two sorts; the one called *chazozeroth,* and the other *horns,* because made of that matter, or from their shape or form. Moses, when he describes the thunderings and the lightnings at the promulgation of the law from mount Sinai, says, *The voice of the shaphar,* or trumpet, *sounded long, and waxed louder and louder.* He called the instrument which served to give notice of the year of jubilee by the same name. The privilege of sounding the *shaphar* in religious assemblies was reserved to the priests alone. In the time of war it was the general's business to blow the trumpet, in order to assemble the troops, to charge the enemy, or to sound a retreat. Nothing is more common than the mention of this instrument throughout the scriptures, in time of war, in the solemn assemblies, upon festival days in the temple, in treaties and alliances; but we do not find one word concerning its form, or the matter it was made of.

Exod. xix. 19.

Lev. xxv. 9.

BOOK VII. *Chazozeroth* is the name of those trumpets Moses caused to be made in the wilderness. There were two of silver, and some others of copper. They were sounded to call the people together, when Moses had any thing to impart to them from God. They were used likewise in war, and upon great and solemn days; as days of public rejoicing, and when they offered their burnt offerings and peace offerings. They are frequently made use of in the scripture, especially in the temple. We do not find whether they were straight or crooked; the scriptures say nothing about it; and the trumpets belonging to other nations, which we find described in their writers, afford us no light in this matter, neither are they uniform. I imagine that the *chazozeroth* were long and straight, in order to distinguish them from the horns, which are crooked and bent.

Numb. x. 2, 8, 9, 10.

The Hebrews had several sorts of flutes: some of a simple, and others of a more compounded nature. The first were called *halil*, as much as to say, bored, or dancers; for the root whence *halil* comes, signifies *to bore*, or *to dance*. *Masrokithe* is another sort of flute, and is derived from a root which signifies *to whistle*. Salmasius upon Solinus observes, that the ancient flutes had not above one or two holes; for which reason they generally played upon two flutes at the same time, the one on the right, and the other on the left side of the mouth. The flute on the right side had but one hole, and rendered the gravest sound; that on the left side had two holes, and its sound was more shrill. And the playing in this manner, if the flutes were not alike, was called *tibiis imparibus*; but when the flutes were both the same, *tibiis paribus*: if they had each but one hole, it was

Isaiah v. 12.

Daniel iii. 5.

termed *modus Dorius*, which was the gravest of all; but when the flutes had two holes apiece, it was called *modus Phrygius*. CHAP. XXI.

Hugab is generally taken by interpreters to signify the organ; but we must not suppose it was like that sort of instrument made among us. It consisted of several pipes or flutes joined together, on which they played, by applying the several pipes, one after another, to the under lip.

Minnim and *Mnanaim* are two sorts of instruments of a very uncertain signification: some take them for stringed-instruments; others for wind-instruments, or flutes; but they both may intend the same thing, and signify the *magadis* of the Greeks, or rather the Syrians. This instrument is to be met with every where in antiquity. There were two sorts; the one a flute, the other a stringed-instrument: the sound of the first was grave and shrill; the other was an instrument to which Anacreon gives no less than twenty strings. After all, it is difficult to form a determinate idea of the nature and shape of these instruments. Athenæus, lib. iv. c. 25.

The Hebrew name for drums, or timbrels, in general, is *tuph*, from whence the Greek and Latin *tympanum*. This instrument is of great antiquity: it is mentioned in Genesis, where Laban says to Jacob, *Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret,* (tuph,) *and with harp?* This instrument has a place in all the great and solemn ceremonies of religion, and most commonly in the hands of women, or young damsels, but never used in war, or the like occasions; which makes me think it was Gen. xxxi. 27.

BOOK VII. very different from our drums, and that it was an instrument of mirth and joy, used upon festival days, at public dancings, and religious processions. It had some resemblance with our tabors. It was made of wood, with a skin stretched only on one side, after the manner of a sieve.

The *tseltsel*, or cymbal, was an instrument of a very shrill and piercing sound, made in copper, of the form of a skull-cap. They took one in each hand, and struck them one against another. They held them by a small ring, which went round the thumb, or by a larger one, which came over the back part of the hand, or only by a plain handle erected on the top. The *shaleshim* is another sort of instrument, which the Seventy have rendered by *cymbala*. It is mentioned but once in scripture, and that is in the description of David's triumph after the victory over Goliath: *the women came out to meet Saul and David, singing and dancing, with tabrets, and with shaleshim.* This term is derived from a root which signifies *three*, and therefore our marginal translation calls it *an instrument of three strings*. Those who played upon the cymbal were formally to accompany it with the sound of a triangular instrument, made of a small rod of steel, on which were put five rings, that were moved up and down the sides of the triangle by means of an iron rod, which they had in their left hand, whilst they held up the instrument in their right by a ring, to give it a free motion.

1 Sam. xviii. 6.

Isa. xviii. 1. The *sistrum*, generally supposed to be what Isaiah calls *the winged zalzel*, is an instrument very common in Egypt. It was of an oval figure, or like a semicircle, lengthened out in the form of a belt:

several brass rods went across, which were loose in the holes, from whence they were kept from falling out by their hands. They played upon them by striking the sistrum, by which means the rods made a shrill and piercing sound.

Metsilothaim is the last instrument I have to speak of: they were a sort of basons, or tinkling bells, that were heard a great way off. This is all I have to observe upon this subject; and I must own there is but little certainty to be had of these matters: but it must be remembered, that there are some subjects, where we ought to rest satisfied with what is probable, and be contented with plausible conjectures.

CHAP. XXII.

The method of writing, sealing, &c. among the Hebrews.

THE most ancient manner of writing we have any knowledge of, is that of engraving figures or letters upon wood or stone. The oldest monuments of the Chaldeans and Egyptians were of this kind. Josephus observes, that this way of writing was before the flood. The way of writing with characters or letters was first invented by the Phœnicians:

Antiquities, lib. i. c. 3.

> Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem formare figuris.

Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iii. 220.

And this the Greeks, the vainest people of all the world, and who arrogate to themselves the invention of all the arts, are forced to acknowledge. Herodotus confesses that it was Cadmus that brought letters into Greece; and the Greek alphabet itself is an evident proof that their letters owe their origin to the Syrians. Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, are manifestly

Lib. v.

BOOK VII. derived from the Hebrew Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth. Diodorus Siculus acknowledges the same thing: "These Phœnicians," says he, "who did receive "these letters from the Muses, and afterwards com- "municated them to the Greeks, are the same who "came into Europe with Cadmus." And this is reasonable to believe; for mankind being created and multiplied first of all in the eastern countries, it is plain that the letters, sciences, arts, religions, and the gods, were transplanted thence with the inhabitants.

L. i. Bibliothec.

The Egyptians, before the invention of writing with characters, engraved upon stones the figures of animals; which custom began in the time of the second king of Memphis. Now Menes, who is supposed to be the same with Ham, the son of Noah, was the first king of that kingdom; he was succeeded by Thoyth, or Taautus, called by the Greeks the first Mercurius. Another Thoyth, or the second Mercurius, explained all the hieroglyphical writings he could meet with, and expressed in letters what the first Thoyth had writ in hieroglyphics, concerning physic. History does not inform us how the second Mercurius came by the knowledge of letters; but we do not find they were ever made use of by any in Egypt before him, unless by Moses, who lived, according to Marsham, in the age preceding that of the second Mercurius. And it is probable, that the Phœnicians had found out this way of writing long before either of them; for this invention seems to have been no new thing in the time of Moses. The ancients made use likewise of tables, or plates of copper and of lead; and it is said, that Hesiod's works were engraven at first only upon

thin plates of lead, which were kept with great care in the temple of the Muses in Bœotia. The tables of copper were generally used for recording alliances, treaties, and laws.

The Chaldeans in old time engraved upon brick their astronomical observations. When Solon digested his laws, he engraved some upon tables of wood, and some of stone. Those upon wood contained private and particular laws; and those upon stone were the more general laws, and the ordinances relating to the sacrifices. The tables of stone were triangular, and called *kyrbeis;* and those of wood, styled *axes,* or *axones,* were square. Both sorts were writ upon after the manner the Greeks call *boustraphedon,* that is, one line went from the left hand to the right; and the next, on the contrary, from the right hand to the left, just as furrows are made in ploughing. The laws of the twelve tables, among the Romans, were engraven upon tables of oak, if we may believe Scaliger, or upon ivory ones, if we follow the opinion of Pomponius the civilian. The tables were generally covered over with wax, upon which they writ with a bodkin, or style made of iron, copper, or bone, pointed at one end, to engrave the letters, and broad at the other, to blot them out.

These tables when joined and fastened together made a book, called *caudex,* or *codex,* that is, a trunk of a tree, because of its resemblance to the body of a tree, sawed into thin boards. The letters, or epistles, sent by private persons to one another, were commonly written upon these tables, which they tied up with a flaxen thread, and afterwards sealed the knot with a sort of wax they had from

BOOK VII. Asia. To these tables succeeded first the leaves of the palm tree; and after that, the finest and thinnest barks of trees, such as the linden tree, the ash, the maple tree, the beech tree, the white poplar, the elm. Hence the word *liber*, (a book,) a name given to all sorts of writings, because the bark of a tree is so called in Latin; and as these barks were rolled up, in order to carry them with the greater ease from one place to another, these rolls were termed *volumes*, as were likewise the rolls of parchment and paper that were invented afterwards.

Papyrus (whence the word *paper*) is a sort of bulrush growing on the banks of the Nile. The body of it is made up of several films, or leaves, one within another: these leaves are taken apart and separated by the help of a needle, and then stretched upon a wet table, to the breadth the sheet of paper is designed. The leaves thus extended, are covered over with a very fine paste, or with some of the muddy water of the Nile, fitted and prepared for that purpose, upon which other leaves are spread, and then the whole is set in the sun to dry. Several sheets of paper were rolled up together to make what we call a quire of paper. These rolls, in the time of Pliny, consisted of twenty sheets, but were afterwards reduced to ten. When these sheets were made use of for large works, they pasted them together at the ends, in proportion to the length of the work, and wrote only upon one side, unless in accounts and minutes, and the like writings, which were not designed to be kept. The books were kept in libraries, rolled round a stick, adorned at both ends with ivory, or some curious wood. The stick was placed at the end of the book or roll; whence this expression

among the Romans, *Ad umbilicum perducere*, to finish a book, or any other work. They laid up the books, in certain chests, or presses, so as that one end of the stick appeared in sight, on which was written the title of the book. CHAP. XXII.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, having erected a prodigious library, the kings of Pergamus had a mind to follow his example; but the kings of Egypt, jealous of being outdone, prohibited the exportation of paper out of their kingdom, which put the kings of Pergamus upon inventing vellum, or parchment, called *Pergamenum*, from the city of Pergamus, or *membrana*, because made of the skins which cover the members of animals. The books that were made of this vellum were of two sorts: some were like those of paper, consisting of several skins pasted together long-ways, which made a longer or shorter roll, according to the length of the writing it contained. Others were made of several skins cut square, and bound up together as our books are. The rolls, *volumina*, were written but on one side, and consequently took up more room than the square and bound books, that were written on both sides. That side of the roll or volume which was writ upon was called *pagina*, or page; and what we call the pages of a book, written on both sides, they termed *tabulæ*, or *tabellæ*.

These observations upon the old way of writing will be of use in explaining the matter and form of the books of the ancient Hebrews. Moses makes frequent mention of books, but describes none, except the two tables on which God wrote the Ten Commandments. These, he tells us, were of polished stone, engraven on both sides, says father Calmet;

BOOK VII. and it is probable that Moses would not have observed to us these two particulars so often as he does, were it not to distinguish them from other books, which were made of tables, not of stone, but of wood, and curiously engraven, but on one side only. The way of writing upon tables of stone and wood is the most ancient that we know of. There is not an expression in the writings of Moses concerning books, but what may be understood of these tables; and there is not one word to be met with, that so much as intimates to us the use of rolls of papyrus, or barks of trees, much less of parchment. We have therefore reason to believe, that by the term *book* he always means *table-books*, made of small thin boards. Indeed the word *volumen*, or volume, frequently occurs in the Pentateuch in the Vulgate Bible, but it is nowhere to be found in the original Hebrew, except only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, the thirty-ninth Psalm, and Zachariah. There are, indeed, some of the rabbins and commentators, who assert that Moses made use of rolls of parchment, or Egyptian paper; but this opinion will gain but little credit with those who know that neither paper nor vellum was found out in the time of Moses.

When therefore the lawgiver of the Hebrews speaks of the book of the covenant; the book of the law; the book of divorce; the book wherein were written the curses that were afterwards scraped off into the bitter water, and given to the woman suspected of adultery to drink, for the trial of her innocence; and the book the Levites were commanded to put in the side of the ark; in these, and the like places, he must be understood to mean nothing more

than the table-books whereon the laws were engraven, or small wooden plates, or boards, on which the other things he mentions were written. The Seventy always express the Hebrew *sepher* by the word *axones:* now these *axones* were tables on which laws were engraven, as I have before shewn. The author of the Book of Job plainly alludes to this way of writing upon tablets; *Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed* (engraven) *in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!* Here is express mention of writing on wood, on lead, and stone. Solomon is no less clear for the use of tablets, when he says, *Let not mercy and truth forsake thee: write them upon the table of thine heart.* Jeremiah expresses the same thing in a strong and lively manner; *The sin of Judah is graven upon the tables of their hearts with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond.* In the Second Book of Kings, according to the Latin translation, God threatens to destroy Jerusalem, and blot out the memory of it, as a man blots out his writing with the flat end of his style; *Delens vertam et ducam crebrius stylum super faciem ejus.* God commands Isaiah to write his threatenings against the Jews on tables of box. Ezekiel was ordered to take a stick, or writing-table, and write upon it for Judah, and to do the like for Joseph and Ephraim, and then to join them altogether into one stick, or book. God told Habakkuk, *Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.* The letter David sent to Joab, to order him to cause Uriah to be slain, and that which Jezebel wrote in the name of Ahab, to have Naboth put to death, are called in scripture *sepher*, a term

CHAP. XXII.

Job xix. 23, 24.

Prov. iii. 3.

Jerem. xvii. 1.

2 Kings xxi. 13.

Isa. xxx. 8. Vulgate.

Ezek. xxxvii. 16.

Habak. ii. 2.

BOOK VII. by which table-books are expressed: which makes it reasonable to believe that these letters were actually writ upon tables, and sealed, like the letters of the Greeks and Romans, in the manner before described.

The edicts, as well as letters of princes, were written upon tablets, and sent into all their provinces, sealed with their signets: *He wrote letters in the king's name, and sealed them with the king's ring, and sent them by posts on horseback.*

Esther viii. 10.

The custom of sealing up letters, edicts, and the tablets on which the prophets writ their visions, is plainly alluded to in scripture. Isaiah tells the Jews, that his prophecies should be to them as a sealed book or letter; *And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed.*

Isaiah xxix. 11.

God orders the same prophet, in another place, to tie up with a thread, and seal the tables whereon his predictions were written; *Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples.*

Isaiah viii. 16.

God bids Daniel also to seal up his prophecies till such a time; *But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end.*

Dan. xii. 4.

The predictions of the prophets were as so many letters from God to his people, which he would not have opened till such time as he was pleased to order it; *Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed.*

Dan. xii. 9.

Such was the book, sealed with seven seals, that St. John saw in the Revelations. This book, although written on both sides, within and without, could be read by nobody, because it was bound all over with the thread, and sealed up with seven seals.

CHAP. XXII.

The practice of writing upon rolls made of the barks of trees is very ancient; it is alluded to in the Book of Job: *Oh that mine adversary had written a book! surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me.* The letter Rabshakeh brought to Hezekiah from Sennacherib was also writ upon those rolls: *And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord.* There is mention made of rolls in more express terms in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah: Jeremiah being in prison, and by that means prevented from speaking to the people, himself dictated a discourse to Baruch his scribe, and bid him go and read it in the ears of all the people, at the entry of the new gate of the Lord's house. The king, when he heard this, sent Jehudi his secretary, to bring him the roll; and after he had read in the presence of the king three or four pages, (or, according to the Hebrew text, three doors or entrances of the volume,) the king ordered it to be burnt: the secretary cut it with his penknife and cast it into the fire. Jeremiah was commanded by the Lord to dictate another volume; which he did. The scripture, throughout this whole account, makes use of the term *megillath*, a volume; and the mention of the scribe's or secretary's penknife is a plain proof of their writing in those days with reeds and ink, as they do at this very time all over the eastern countries. The best canes, or reeds, grow towards Aurac, along the Persian gulf: they are gathered in March, and laid in small bundles in a dunghill six months, where they grow hard and firm, and acquire that shining and beautiful varnish they are covered

Job xxxi. 35, 36.

Isa. xxxvii. 14.

Jer. xxxvi.

BOOK VII. with, of yellow and black. We read in Jeremiah, that Baruch made use of ink, and wrote with ink in the book. The scriptures nowhere name the instrument with which they writ upon rolls, but make frequent mention of the styles for tables; the form and nature of which I have already taken notice of. They carried these styles and tablets at their girdles, and in cases called by the Hebrews *keset*, and by the Greeks *graphiarium*.

The rolls, or volumes, generally speaking, were writ but upon one side only. This is intimated by Ezekiel, who observes, that he saw one of an extra-

Ezek. ii. 9, 10. ordinary form written on both sides: *And when I looked, behold, an hand was sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book was therein; and he spread it before me: and it was written within and without.* Zechariah informs us in some measure what was the form of those ancient volumes, or rolls, where

Zech. v. 1, 2. he says, he saw the vision of a flying roll, twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad: not that the common books were of this size, but only they were made, as to their dimensions, in the same proportion

Luke iv. 17, 20. with this extraordinary roll. In the time of our Saviour, the Jews had in their synagogues, as they still continue to have at this day, large volumes, or rolls, on which the Law and the Prophets were written. St. Paul plainly distinguishes the books written upon the Egyptian papyrus, from those on vellum;

2 Tim. iv. 13. *Bring with thee the books, but especially the parchments.* This is the only place that makes express mention of parchment, or vellum. The use of tab-

Luke i. 63. lets, or writing-tables, is evident from those Zacharias, the father of St. John Baptist, asked for, to write down the name of his son.

CHAP. XXIII.

The way of writing manuscripts. Of the Hebrew text of the Bible.

HAVING given some account of the form of the Jewish books, it may be proper to say something of the manuscript copies of the Hebrew text, and the difference of manuscripts used in the synagogues, and those used only by private persons. The Jews have two sorts of manuscript copies of the Bible; one of which, serving for the ordinary use of the synagogue, is writ in certain scrolls, or parchments, with great exactness. The other, which particular persons copy out for their own use, differs not from our manuscripts. The first contains only the five books of the Law, and some little volumes which are read in the synagogues, and are writ in separate scrolls. The other contains the whole text of the scripture, which is divided into four and twenty books. There is some difference in the writing of these two copies; and there is more care taken in the writing of the first, than of that which is only for private persons. Nevertheless, most of the precautions used are superstitious, and the invention of the rabbins; and therefore I shall not mark all of them particularly, for fear of being tedious: it will be sufficient to touch upon some of the principal ones, without observing the others. CHAP. XXIII.

First, the characters of these manuscripts which are used in the synagogues are not altogether the same with those which are in the common copies. There are certain letters in these manuscripts of the synagogue, which, besides the figure, have points, or horns, which serve for ornament, and these horns

BOOK VII. are called *thagin*, that is to say, *crowns*. The rabbins affirm, that God gave them Moses upon mount Sinai, and that he taught him how to make them. Rabbi Seem Tob has writ a treatise of these crowns; where he observes, they have been neglected by most of the grammarians, who have not been sufficiently instructed in the mysteries which he pretends to have had from the Talmud. For example: he makes seven points, or crowns, to belong to the letter Aleph, five of which are on the top of the letter, three on the left hand, and two on the right, and two others at the bottom at the end of the left hand. The law has seven Alephs after this manner. The Beth is writ with three of these crowns, two of which are on the top, which go up with a sharp point, and another, which is likewise on the top of the letter, but the point inclines a little toward the bottom; and there are in the Law four of this sort of Beths. The Ghimel has four crowns on the top; and there are but three of these Ghimels in the Law. It is unnecessary to give an account of the other letters, or to spend more time about this vain superstition, which is far from adding any correctness to the Hebrew copies.

Secondly, there are a great many ceremonies in the writing of these manuscripts, because this nation, who looks upon itself holy, and separate from all others, does nothing without some particularities or other. The Jews are not permitted to write the books appointed for the service of the synagogue upon the skin of any animal, but only upon that of clean beasts, otherwise the books would be profane, and could not be read. It is necessary that this skin be prepared after a certain manner by a Jew,

who is neither an apostate nor an heretic, and who prepares it with an intention for the Law to be written in it. Every sort of ink likewise is not to be used; and there are certain ingredients required in the making of this ink; and, among other things, there is to be no copperas.

Thirdly, the skin upon which it is writ ought to have a certain proportion, as well in its length as breadth, and ought to be ruled before the writing, it not being permitted to write more than three words in a place not ruled, which makes the lines straight, and one letter is not larger than another. Care is likewise to be taken that neither the letters nor words join one to another, and therefore there is left the space of a thread or hair between each letter, and between the words the space of a little letter: the length of a line is to be of thirty letters, and betwixt each line is to be the space of a line. As they have divided the Pentateuch into certain sections, some of which they call close, and others open, it has likewise been necessary, for that very reason, to leave void spaces. Three letters are left for the close sections, and nine for the open ones. Besides these sections, there are yet greater, for which greater void spaces are left; and the letters are not to be pressed, for the adjusting of them to the proportion of the spaces, or the length of the lines; but they are to be writ in so distinct a manner, that a child may read them without mistaking those which are alike one for the other.

Fourthly, these books are to be taken from other faithful and authentic copies; and the kings heretofore took their copy from the original preserved in the sanctuary. After these books are writ, they are

BOOK VII. to be examined, whether they are true copies, and to be corrected by an authentic copy. If nevertheless in the reading many faults appear, as, for example, four in every page, or side, they are to be looked upon as profane, and others to be writ. There are many other niceties of too small importance to be mentioned.

Lastly, the copies used in the synagogues are all writ without points for vowels and accents, because there have been innovations made in the copies writ for the use of private persons. The points seem to have been invented for the better fixing of the reading of the text, and the making of it easy to unskilful persons: and as for the accents, there are two sorts of them; one of which distinguishes the parts of discourse, as our points and commas do; and the other serves for pricks in music. These accents were invented by some Jewish doctors, who would distinguish the texts of the Bible by points and commas, as the Greek and Latin grammarians have done in their books; the other, being almost the same with the notes we use in music, were, without doubt, invented by their doctors, to shew more exactly how one ought to sing in the reading of the Law.

As for the other manuscripts of the Bible, not dedicated to the use of the synagogues, there is not so much care taken in the writing of them, and therefore there are very few good ones, because it is hard to find learned and faithful transcribers; and besides, the Jews study more the Talmud and their traditions, than their tongue and the holy scripture. They much neglect both grammar and criticism; so that most of the Jews understand not the Mas-

soret, which is a criticism of the Hebrew text. The Spaniards only have refined the Hebrew tongue, and have been curious in procuring good manuscripts. Next to the Spaniards are the Jews of France and Italy; and the next manuscripts are those which come from Germany. One may easily distinguish one from the other, by the make of the characters, which are much greater in the books which come from Germany, than in those writ either by the French or Spaniards. The Spanish character is wholly square and comely; the French and Italian is a little rounder, and not so graceful: but we nowhere find so good manuscripts of the Bible as at Constantinople, Salonica, and some other places of the Levant, whither the Spanish Jews fled when they were driven out of Spain.

CHAP. XXIV.

The origin and division of languages; and of the Hebrew language in particular.

WHEN God had formed all the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air, he made them to pass before Adam, that he might give them names: and, as the scripture relates, he did so; and the name which he gave to each was its name. The same scripture informs us, that God made use of a voice to forbid our parents the eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. It also represents to us the Devil tempting the woman by his discourse; the woman answering him, and seducing her husband; God speaking to Adam, and upbraiding him; and Adam and Eve endeavouring to excuse themselves.

BOOK VII. All this supposes that Adam and Eve were created with a language; for Adam gave names to the creatures immediately after his creation, and before the woman was made. If he had been dumb, if he had not then known any language, how could he immediately give names to the creatures, and such names too as have continued with them? How could Adam and Eve, when newly created, have understood what God said to them by articulate sounds, understand one another mutually, and converse together as soon as placed in a terrestrial paradise? There must be time to agree upon signs by which we express our thoughts, time to retain those signs, and to adapt them to all the things that we speak about. All this could not be done of a sudden, but gradually, and demands a considerable time; but that which we have observed happened soon after the creation: so that it seems more reasonable to believe, that Adam and Eve had the gift of speech by infusion from the moment of their creation, than to imagine that they were only created with organs proper to form words, and that in time they formed a language to themselves.

This being supposed, there is no great difficulty in explaining how the posterity of Adam and Eve learned and preserved that language: daily experience shews us how infants learn to speak from their parents, nurses, and those about them: nor is it any great wonder that all mankind, inhabiting still one corner of the world, having commerce together, and living also many ages, that this language should be preserved among them without any considerable change till the deluge. But granting there had been any other, all men being destroyed by the deluge, ex-

cept Noah and his family, the language of that patriarch was the only language that subsisted, and easily preserved itself among his descendants, so long as they continued together in that same country: but when before their dispersion they undertook the building of a city and tower, it pleased God to put a stop to that rash enterprise, and to confound them by a change in their language; so that not understanding one another, they could not continue that great work, and were obliged to separate before they had finished it.

It will be difficult to find into how many languages men were divided. The rabbins count seventy, because the Hebrew text reckons so many of Noah's descendants, that is, fourteen from Japhet, thirty from Ham, and twenty-six from Shem, of whom it is said, *These are the heads of the people of the nations who divided the earth after the flood.* According to the Greek text we must add two persons, and by consequence two languages, to the number: but we cannot infer from the number of Noah's posterity, contained in that genealogy, the number of different languages; for divers of those mentioned in that catalogue might have preserved the same language, as it is certain in the children of Canaan, who make several of the heads enumerated in that genealogy, whose posterity nevertheless had only one language, that is, the Canaanitish tongue, which was common to all the inhabitants of Palestine, before the Israelites were possessed of it.

It is not necessary to think that this diversity of tongues was as great first, as it was afterward; and that the different people had languages altogether differing, so that they had nothing wherein they agreed in common; or that the ancient language was

BOOK VII. entirely abolished; and that God inspired men with languages altogether new. It is much more reasonable to believe, that God divided and diversified the same tongue into different dialects, but so however that they could not easily understand one another. This is what is properly meant by those terms of scripture, *Let us confound their language.* In this place God confounded the language of all the earth: these expressions signify no more than the change of the same language into different dialects. It is probable therefore, that there was much less difference amongst the people in the world at the beginning, than there is at present, since process of time does necessarily occasion a change in all languages. Besides, we see the most ancient languages of the eastern people, which are nearest the tower of Babel, Hebrews, Chaldeans, Arabs, and Phœnicians, or Canaanites, have still more conformity to one another than others; and that they are nothing almost but the dialects of the same language. However, we may rest assured that at the beginning there was not so great a difference in the language of Noah's descendants, who divided themselves into different colonies to people the earth.

Learned men have been long and sufficiently divided in their opinions concerning the first language in the world: the Jews, and some Christians, have easily persuaded themselves that it was the Hebrew; others give the preference to the Chaldee. The first say, that the language which Noah received from Adam was preserved without change in the family of Shem and Heber, from whom they believe it derived its name; that Abraham received it from his father Tharah, or Terah, the descendant of He-

ber; and that it was conveyed from them to the Israelites, called Hebrews, because they spoke the same language with Heber. Others say, the most ancient language was that spoken in Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates, that is to say, the Chaldee spoken by Abraham, who was bred in the city of Ur of the Chaldees, and spent part of his days in Mesopotamia; that having afterwards changed his habitation, and crossed the Euphrates, to enter into the land of Canaan, he was called Hebræus by those people, a term derived from Heber, which signifies *from beyond*, because he came from beyond the Euphrates; that here he learned the Canaanitish language, which was that of his son Isaac, his grandson Jacob, and his posterity, that is to say, the Hebrew tongue.

Though the name of Hebrew be very ancient, we do not find that the language of the Jews was properly called the Hebrew tongue. It is called Jewish in the Second Book of Chronicles; and it is likewise said, that those who spoke the common language of the country spoke the Jews' language: it is only since the captivity that the Helenists, or Jews who spoke Greek to distinguish themselves from those who spoke the ancient language of the Jews, called their tongue Hebrew. Thus the translator of the Book of Esther observes, that the urn in which they cast lots is called *phur* in Hebrew: the author of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus makes use of the same term: and this name was so common in our Saviour's time, that when the evangelists give us names in the Jewish tongue, they tell us that in Hebrew it is called so and so, as Gabbatha and Golgotha; and in the same place it is said, that the inscription upon

2 Chron. xxxii. 18.

2 Kings xviii.26,&c.

John xix. 13. 17.

BOOK VII. the cross was in Hebrew and Greek and Latin. But that which deserves to be remarked is, that the evangelists give the name of Hebrew to the Syriac, or Chaldaic, which was become the common language of the Jews. It carried then the name of the Hebrew tongue, as well as the ancient Hebrew, as the Arabian and vulgar Greek carried the name of Arabian and Greek, though differing much from the ancient Greek and Arabic. But since that time, the name of the Hebrew tongue has been restrained to the old language of the Jews, in which the books of Moses and the other books of the Old Testament were written.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, spoke this language in the land of Canaan. The latter and his children being obliged to go into Egypt, their posterity multiplied there prodigiously, and stayed in that country two hundred years; but neither changed their religion, customs, nor language, because they lived separate from the Egyptians in the land of Goshen. The Egyptian tongue differed very much from the Hebrew; for Joseph conversed with his brethren by an interpreter, and the Egyptians understood them not when they spoke together. Therefore the author of the eighteenth psalm, speaking of the time when the Israelites were in Egypt, says, *They heard a language they did not understand.* Some of them, no doubt, learned the Egyptian tongue, and spoke both languages, but the bulk of the people preserved the language of their ancestors.

The Israelites then came out of Egypt, speaking the language of their fathers, that is, the same language which Jacob and his children brought from the land of Canaan, and preserved it without any re-

markable change till the Babylonish captivity, as the books written from the time of Moses till the destruction of the first temple give us ground to believe; for they are almost uniform in the language, and no considerable change is to be found in them, which is particularly occasioned by the Jews living separate from other people, not mixing with them, taking no wives but those of their own nation, venturing no commerce with strangers; and therefore we have no reason to wonder that they preserved their language so long without mixture or change. CHAP. XXIV.

It was not the same during the Babylonish captivity. The Jews did not then live in a particular place, as when they were in Egypt; but being dispersed, and mixed among the Chaldeans, were obliged to learn their language, which by degrees became common among them. We read that Daniel and his companions were obliged to learn the Chaldee, and that the wise men whom Nebuchadnezzar sent for to explain his dream, spoke to him in the Aramic tongue, which the Greek interpreters have translated Syriac. This Aramic tongue was the language of the Assyrians, or Syrians, descended from Aram the son of Shem, as appears by this, that Rabshakeh, the Assyrian general, was entreated by king Hezekiah's deputies to speak in the Aramic tongue, which the Greek and Latin interpreters have again rendered Syriac. Now we cannot doubt but the Aramic, Syrian, or Assyrian language, was the Chaldee, since Daniel himself, when relating, in their own terms, the discourse which the Chaldeans had with Nebuchadnezzar, and all that passed afterwards between himself, his companions, and the king, writes all these things in the Chaldaic tongue. It is not then to be

Dan. i. 4.

2 Kings xviii. 26.

BOOK VII. doubted, but that the Syriac and Chaldee tongue were originally the same language, and was spoken at Babylon, where the Hebrew tongue was not understood, insomuch that none of the Chaldeans could read or understand the Hebrew words which were wrote upon the wall at Belshazzar's feast, which Daniel, who understood both languages, very easily explained.

The Chaldee by degrees became common among the Jews; but we must not imagine, with some of the rabbins, that they entirely forgot their ancient language during the captivity, and that the priests only spoke and understood it before their return. It is much more likely that this change did not happen all of a sudden, but gradually, as all changes in language do. We must suppose that at the beginning of the captivity the Jews spoke Hebrew, and did not understand the Chaldee, as is evident, because Daniel was obliged to learn it; that a little time after, the commerce they were obliged to entertain with the inhabitants of the country made that language more common amongst them; and that they began to understand it, to speak it, and to teach it their children. But it is almost impossible that in seventy years, the time of the captivity, they could entirely forget the use and knowledge of their ancient language. There must of necessity have been a time wherein the Hebrew and Chaldee were common among the Jews; but by degrees the Chaldee got the ascendant, and became the only language spoke among the Jews after their return from the captivity, but so, however, as there was a mixture of Hebrew words. This is the language that was commonly spoke in Judæa in our Saviour's time, which is called

Hebrew throughout the New Testament. In the mean time the sacred books continued always written in the ancient Hebrew tongue, and in that language the Jews read them in their synagogues: but this not being the common tongue, and beginning to be not understood by all the Jews, the Hebrew original was explained in the vulgar language in their synagogues; and perhaps that was the origin of the Chaldee Paraphrases, of which we shall speak in another place.

We cannot certainly say when it was that the old Hebrew tongue ceased to be understood by the Jewish commonalty; but there are many circumstances to prove, that it was not for some years after their return from the captivity: for if the Hebrew had not been understood by the Jews after their return, why should Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, have written in Hebrew things which they designed should be understood by the common people, especially since those writers were not ignorant of the Chaldee, but made use of it in writing things that related to the Assyrians. But it is so far from being true, that the Chaldee tongue was the only language in use among the Jews immediately after the captivity, that on the contrary, it is observed by Nehemiah as an extraordinary thing, that the children of the Jews who had married strangers spoke the language of Ashdod, and not the language of the Jews. We have already observed, that to speak in the Jews' language is to speak in Hebrew, and that the Jewish tongue is the ancient Hebrew language. This tongue then was common among the Jews; but nothing proves more invincibly that the Hebrew was still understood by the common

BOOK VII. people even after the captivity, than what is said in Nehemiah, that the law was read in Hebrew before all the people, and that they all understood it: *All the people,* says he, *gathered themselves together as one man into the street that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation both of men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first day of the seventh month. And he read therein in the street that was before the water gate from the morning until midday, before the men and women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive unto the book of the law.* Can we reasonably think that Ezra read to the people for many hours in a language they did not understand? Is it probable that the people would have listened attentively to it for so considerable a time, that they could be so affected as to melt into tears at the reading of it? Perhaps, it may be said, that they did not understand the book, but that Esdras translated it into Chaldee; and this is offered to be proved by what is said, that the Levites caused the people to understand the law; and that they read the book of the law distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading. But if Ezra had repeated the law, word for word, in another language, and that the people had understood nothing of it in Hebrew, to what purpose was it read? neither does the cited passage say any such thing; for either it signifies only that the Levites caused the people to keep silence, and give attention to the law, which was read with a distinct and in-

Nehem. viii. 1, 2, 3.

Ver. 7. 8.

telligible voice, or it supposes that Ezra, and those that were with him, explained the law. But that does not say that they rendered the text, word for word, in another tongue, but that they explained the difficult places, by a discourse more at large, and better suited to the capacity of the people. In short, it is said, that the children of Israel being separated from the strangers, *confessed their sins, and the sins of their fathers; and standing up in their places, read the book of the law of the Lord their God one fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they confessed, and worshipped the Lord their God:* and that afterwards the Levites made a long discourse to the people, which is contained in that chapter, to exhort them to praise God, and to give thanks for his favours. The people read the law in Hebrew: this discourse was in Hebrew, and therefore that language must have been perfectly understood.

CHAP. XXIV.

Nehem. ix. 2, 3.

CHAP. XXV.

The Hebrew characters; the vowel points; when they were invented and brought in use.

IT is to no purpose to inquire what was the figure of the characters in use before and immediately after the deluge, because we have no monuments left us of those times, and that no credible writer makes any mention of them: but it is a famous question among the critics, What the characters were, which were used by the ancient Hebrews? Some pretend that they were the same as now; but the more common opinion among the ancients and moderns is, that the old Hebrew characters, made use of by Moses and

BOOK VII. others, before the captivity, are those which the Samaritans preserved; and that those now in use came in after the Babylonish captivity. The Hebrew tongue being the same with the Canaanitish, or Phœnician, we must allow that the Hebrew characters of that language were the same; which appear by the ancient Ionian or Greek letters, which are altogether like them, as may be seen by the ancient monuments. That we may understand how they were preserved among the Samaritans, and how they were lost by the Jews, "We must know," says Du Pin, contrary to the opinion of Father Simon mentioned in another place, "that the kingdom "of Israel being divided in the reign of Rehoboam, "the ten tribes preserved the Pentateuch, in the "same manner that they received it from Moses; "but being carried away captive from Samaria by "Salmanassa king of Assyria, that city was re-"peopled with inhabitants called Chutæans, and "afterwards Samaritans: the latter being molested "with wild beasts, for not adoring the true God, "sent for some Israelites, who gave them copies of "the books of the law, which they always preserved "as they had received them." The tribes of Judah and Benjamin did also retain the same characters till the Babylonish captivity; but the Jews being transported to that city, they insensibly accustomed themselves to write like the Chaldeans; and therefore, after their return, Ezra, having collected the books of the Bible, made use of the Chaldee characters, (which were better known to the Jews than the ancient characters,) of which they have constantly made use since that time. But a convincing proof that they were not in use before, is this, That

there were many ancient shekels found of the Jewish money before the captivity, whose inscriptions are written in Samaritan characters, and on the reverse are found these words, "Jerusalem Kodeska," the "Holy Jerusalem." Which proves that it was the Jews, and not the Samaritans, among whom the money was current; for the latter (nay, nor the Israelites themselves) did not, after their division, acknowledge Jerusalem as a holy city, and would not have called it by that title in their moneys, since they were declared enemies of that city and temple. CHAP. XXV.

The Hebrew alphabet is composed of twenty-two letters, as well as those of the Samaritans, Chaldeans, and Syrians; but besides those letters, none of which is at present a vowel, and by consequence they cannot determine the pronunciation, the Hebrews have invented points, which being put under the letters, serve instead of vowels. Those points are of use, not only to fix the pronunciation, but also the signification of a word, because many times the word being differently pointed and pronounced, signifies things wholly different. Not but that the Hebrew language had real vowels at first, as other languages, to wit, the Aleph, which is the A, the Jod, which is the I, and the Vau, which answers to the O and U, and it may be the Hajin for the E. Those letters which at present are consonants, when they are not pronounced, were originally true vowels. But as there are abundance of Hebrew words, where several consonants are found successively, without any of those letters, they were supplied by them for pronouncing those words whose true pronunciation was learned by custom.

Great have been the contests of learned men con-

BOOK VII. cerning the antiquity of these points in the Hebrew text: some have pretended that they are as ancient as the Hebrew tongue; and that Abraham made use of them: others make Moses the author of them. But the more common opinion among the Jews is, that Moses having learned from God the true pronunciation of Hebrew words, this science was preserved in the synagogue by oral tradition until the time of Esdras, who invented the points and accents, to preserve it. Elias Levita, a German Jew, and very learned in the Hebrew grammar, has rejected this opinion, and maintained, that the invention of these points was much later. He ascribes it to the Jews of Tiberias, about five hundred years after Christ; and alleges, that this art was not perfected till about the year one thousand and forty, by two famous Massorets, Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali. These Massorets were a set of men whose profession it was to write out copies of the Hebrew scriptures, to criticise upon them, and to preserve and teach the true reading of them. Aben-Ezra, speaking of the punctuation of a word, says, "That "such is the custom of the sages of Tiberias, which "ought to serve as a foundation and rule, because it "is they who are the Massorets, from whom we "have received the punctuation of the law."

In lib. Tzachut.

It may be observed in the general, that the points and accents of a language are not much in use, whilst the tongue is living: they were not invented in the Greek and Latin tongues, till after they ceased to be commonly spoken. The Oriental tongues, as the Chaldee, Samaritan, and Syriac, have none: the Arabic had none at first; nor is there any appearance that the Hebrew tongue is different, in that re-

spect, from the other Oriental languages. The number of its vowels, which are fourteen or fifteen, without reckoning the Raphe, the Dagesch, and Mappic, and an infinite number of accents, now in use among the Hebrews, make it plain enough how far those things are from the natural simplicity of a language commonly spoken: these are the niceties and subtleties of the grammarians upon a dead language, rather than the custom of a living. In short, the time of inventing the points will appear evidently by considering the origin of grammar among the Jews. The first of their grammarians was rabbi Judas Chiug, an Arabian, who lived in the tenth century: since then they have had divers. Now there are two things we may lay down as matter of fact: first, that it is almost impossible to know the rules and use of the points without grammar; and secondly, that the Hebrew grammar is chiefly founded upon the knowledge of the points. Which makes it evident that those two things must have been invented near upon the same time. It is no fable that the Hebrews had their vowel points from the Arabs, and that they were the first inventors of them: history informs us that the Arabians, or Saracens, becoming masters of a great part of Asia and Africa, and of Sicily and Spain in Europe, in the seventh and eighth age their language, as usual, spread with their dominions, and became common in all the countries under their obedience. Then it was, that to fix the pronunciation of that tongue among so many different people, they invented the points, and set up grammarians, to compose rules for their language. The Jews, as well as other eastern nations, did commonly write in Arabic.

BOOK VII. Their first grammarians wrote in that language, and followed the method and rules of the Arabian grammar. The Massorets, whose natural tongue was the Arabic, instituted the custom, and followed the example of the Arabs in pointing the letters of the Hebrew text, to fix the pronunciation of it. As the Arabians changed their ancient vowels into consonants, they did the like, and followed their distinction into those that are pronounced by the throat, lips, roof of the mouth, teeth, and tongue. They called the primitive words *roots*, as they did; and the vowel points they called *movements*. In the same manner they admitted useless letters, which they call *quiescent*, and do not pronounce. From them they had the *dagesch lene* and the *dagesch forte;* the former directing to pronounce the aspirates softly, and the latter teaching to double them. This conformity in grammar and punctuation shews that the Jews received both from the Arabians.

These vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the Massorets, by which they preserved to themselves the true readings of the holy scriptures, and taught them to their scholars; but they were not received into the divinity schools till the making of the Talmud: for there were two sorts of schools anciently among the Jews, the schools of the Massorets, and the schools of the rabbins. The former taught only the Hebrew language, and to read the scriptures in it; the others to understand the scriptures, and all the interpretations of them, and were the great doctors of divinity among them; to whom the Massorets were as much inferior, as the teachers of the grammar-schools, among us, are to the professors of divinity

in our universities. And therefore, as long as those vowel points went no higher than the schools of these Massorets, they were of no regard among their learned men, nor taken any notice of by them. But sometime after the making of the Talmud, in what year or age is uncertain, the punctuation of the Massorets having been judged by the Jewish doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving the traditionary readings of the Hebrew scriptures, as the Mishna and Gemara had been then found to be for the preserving the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity schools; and it having been there received and corrected by the most learned of their rabbins, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings which they held to have been delivered down to them by tradition from Moses, and the people who were the first penmen of them, ever since that time the points in Hebrew scriptures have been held by the Jews to be of the same authority for the reading of them, as the Mishna and Gemara for the interpreting of them, and consequently, as unalterable as the letters themselves: for they reckon them both of divine original, only with this difference, that the letters, they say, were written by the holy penmen themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the holy scriptures in unpointed copies, and so do to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

BOOK VII. As for the accents, which are at present in the Hebrew text of the Bible, we ought to judge of them as of the points: they were also invented by the Massorets, or Jewish critics, who added them to the text, as points and commas have been put into the Greek and Latin books, for the distinguishing the different parts of discourse. The Jews, who go beyond all other nations in subtleties and niceties, invented not only accents, to mark out divisions, but have added others, to denote the continuation of the discourse, as if one knew not sufficiently it ought to be continued, when there is nothing set down to stop it. These accents which are added by the Massorets are very irregular; and if they are exactly followed, as they are set down in several places, we should make a great confusion in the Hebrew text. It has been already observed, that these same accents serve for pricks in singing; and therefore they accompany them with some gestures of the head. But they have been long disused, and are wholly insignificant for this purpose.

CHAP. XXVI.

The distinction of verses in the Hebrew text.

BESIDES the accents which distinguish the Hebrew text of the Bible, as points and commas distinguish discourse in Greek and Latin, and other European languages, the Hebrews have another sort of accent, which wholly cuts off the sense of the text, and divides it into so many several verses. The Jewish grammarians have called this accent *soph pasuc*, "end of the verse;" and they mark it with

two points, one upon the other. The whole law was formerly but one verse, as one may say, or, in a manner, but one word; because in those times there were no distinction of verses in the books of Moses, or in the other books of the Bible. The scripture agrees in this with all the Greek and Latin books, which were also writ without any distinction before the points and commas were invented by grammarians. Originally every book of the Hebrew Bible was writ without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words; but when the public reading of the law was brought into use among the Jews, and some part of it read every sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into fifty-four sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each sabbath, and so the whole gone over every year. And when that disuse of the Hebrew language made it necessary that it should not only be read to them in the original Hebrew, but also interpreted in the Chaldee, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and to the interpreter where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had, verse by verse, gone through the whole section. If Ezra himself was not the author of this division, it was introduced not long after him, for it is certainly very ancient. CHAP. XXVI.

Some are of opinion that the distinction of verses in the sacred books of the synagogue was discernible only by lines. Maimonides, out of the Talmud, says, "that the parchments on which those books were "written, were to be of six hands' breadth, and of In Bava Bathra, fol. 16.

BOOK VII. " as many in length; and the writing of them to " be in six columns, each column being of a hand's " breadth; and that each line in these columns was " to contain thirty of their letters." Now by this method the verses could no otherwise be distinguished than by ending the last line of a verse in a break. But it must be observed that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break; and then there could be no distinction made this way between that verse and the next. Besides, those who held this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines abovementioned to a verse; but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most probable, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines, from one side of the parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner as the *stichi* afterwards were in the Greek Bibles: for the manner of their writing those *stichi* at first was to allow a line to every *stichus*, and there to end the line where they ended the *stichus*, leaving the rest of the line void, in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky; for the avoiding of both these inconveniences, the way afterwards was to put a point at the end of every *stichus*, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the same manner I conceive the verses of the Hebrew Bible were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse, and a line drawn from one side of the parch-

ment to the other, of the length, as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the Hebrew Bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniences that the Greeks after did in the first way of their writing their *stichi*, and therefore came to the same remedy, that is, they put the two points above mentioned (which they call *soph pasuc*) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all in it.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Massora.

THE word *massora*, in Hebrew, signifies *tradition*, and is particularly given to the criticisms on the Hebrew text: Buxtorf, who followed this study for several years, defines it to be a critical doctrine upon the Hebrew text, invented by the ancient Jewish doctors, whereby they have counted the verses, words, and letters of the text, and observed all the diversities of them, the better to preserve the true reading from all manner of change. Therefore the rabbins call it *pirke avoth*, the hedge or enclosure of the law. The Arabians have used the same precaution as to the Alcoran, and perhaps in imitation of the Jews.

The authors of the Massora are called *massorets*, or, *doctors of the law*. It began some time before the Talmud, but was not perfected and collected into a body till a long time after. The method how this was done, was thus: the rabbins made divers critical

BOOK VII. remarks upon the Hebrew text of the Bible at different times: those that followed them took care to collect the ancient remarks, and to add to them. And in this manner the body of the Massora was formed, as we have it at this time.

The matter of the Massora consists in critical remarks upon the verses, words, letters, and vowel points of the Hebrew text. The Massorets were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses, and marked the number of the verses, and of the words and letters in each verse; the verses where they thought there was something forgot; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they thought superfluous, the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; the number of words that are printed above; which letters are pronounced, and which are turned upside down; and such as hang perpendicular; and took the number of each: it was they, in short, who invented the vowel points, the accents, and made divers critical remarks upon the punctuation, and abundance of other things of equal importance.

A great part of the labour of these Jewish doctors consisted in counting the letters of the Hebrew text; and the letter Nau, in the word *gehon*, is in the Talmud observed to be in the very middle of the Pentateuch. Father Simon gives an account of a manuscript copy which he saw, where that part of the Massora that belonged to the letters was to this

Critical History, book i. c. 26.

purpose: "There are twelve *parscioths*, or great BOOK VII.
"sections, in Genesis: there are forty-three of
"those which are called *sedarim*, or orders; there
"are one thousand five hundred and thirty-four
"verses, twenty thousand seven hundred and thir-
"teen words, seventy-eight thousand one hundred
"letters; and the midst of this book consists in these
"words, *Ve al harveka tihieh*, in chap. xxvii. ver. 40;
"there are five points: (these are points made on
"the top of some letters mentioned by St. Jerome.)
"Exodus has eleven *parscioths*, thirty-three *seda-*
"*rims*, one thousand two hundred and nine verses,
"sixty-three thousand four hundred and sixty-seven
"letters; and these words, *Elohim lo tekallel*, in
"chap. xxii. ver. 27. are in the very middle of this
"book. There are in Leviticus ten *parscioths*,
"twenty-five *sedarims*, eight hundred fifty-nine
"verses, eleven thousand nine hundred and two
"words, forty-four thousand nine hundred and
"eighty-nine letters; and these words, *Vehannogea*
"*bibesar*, in chap. xv. ver. 7. are the middle words.
"There are in Numbers ten *parscioths*, thirty-three
"*sedarims*, one thousand two hundred and eighty-
"eight verses, sixteen thousand seven hundred and
"seven words, sixty-two thousand five hundred and
"twenty-nine letters; and these words, *Ve haia-is*
"*asher ebehar*, in chap. xvii. ver. 5. are the middle
"words. There are in Deuteronomy ten *parsci-*
"*oths*, thirty-one *sedarims*, nine thousand fifty-
"five verses, sixteen thousand three hundred and
"ninety-four words, fifty-four thousand eight hun-
"dred and ninety-two letters; and the middle words
"of this book are *Ve ascita alpi hadavar*, in chap.
"xvii. ver. 10."

BOOK VII. The Massora is written in Chaldee, and ordinarily divided into great and small: the great is partly on the top and bottom of the margins of the text; and sometimes in the margin underneath the commentaries; and in part at the end of every Bible, which occasions the division of this grand Massora into the Massora of the text, and the final Massora. The little Massora is written upon the inner margin, or sometimes on the outer margin of the Bible: it is an abridgment of the great Massora wrote in small characters, with abundance of contractions, symbolical words, and citations of scripture by one only term of the text.

It cannot be denied but the labour of the Massorets was extraordinary great: but the learned are divided whether it was as useful as great, and if it affords a profit answerable to their pains. The author of the book Cosri, and the rabbi Aben-Ezra seem to make no account of it, and speak of it as an unprofitable work. The latter compares it to the labour of a person that spends his time in turning over the leaves of a book of physic, and numbers the pages, without making use of any of the medicines prescribed in it. Dr. Prideaux has a very contemptible notion of these Jewish doctors: "These "Massorets," says he, "who were the authors of the "Massora, that is now extant, were a monstrous "trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observa- "tions went no higher than the numbering of the "verses, words, and letters of every book in the "Hebrew Bible, and the marking out which was "the middle verse, word, and letter in each of them, "and the making of other such poor and low obser- "vations, as are not worth any man's reading or

Connection, part i. p. 175.

CHAP. XXVII.

"taking notice of." But Cunæus sets a high value upon the labours of these men: "When I consider," says he, "the unwearied diligence and infinite pains "of the Massorets, I do even stand amazed; for "having revised accurately, and compared all the "books of the Hebrew Bible, they signed them with "certain notes. This was done after the destruction "of the second temple, about the year four hundred "and thirty-six. It was observed by them, not "only how many verses and words, but also how "many letters every book contained; wherefore "that afterward, when extreme barbarism oppressed "the world, no tittle of that most excellent book "was lost, is a benefit we owe to them. Not with-"out cause, therefore, have the rabbins said; 'The "Massora is, as it were, the wall and the hedge of "the law.'" There are many interpreters, Roman catholic and protestant, who likewise allow this work to be of very great use.

De Rep. Hebræ, lib. i. ii. xviii.

To keep a just medium between these two opposite sentiments, we must distinguish between the parts of the Massora, and accordingly form a different judgment of them. There are some of them altogether useless, some of them superstitious, and some of them may be of use to preserve the text in its purity. The useless are, that scrupulous affectation of observing how many times the same letter or word is found in the Bible; of the same nature must we reckon the observations they have made upon the redundant and defective words, and abundance of other trifles. The distinction of verses may be of use, if well done; but many times the Massorets have not made that distinction as the sense required they should. As to the numbering of the

BOOK VII. letters and words, it seems to be superfluous enough, both because it is a very hard matter to be certain of it, and that in writing or counting there is no letter forgot; and that the letters may be changed without changing the number; and likewise, because by this means we cannot be assured of the correction of the Hebrew text, but by counting afresh all the words and letters; which cannot be done without abundance of time and labour. There is certainly a great deal of superstition in the Massora; as, the distinction and enumeration of great and small letters; the mystery of those that are suspended, turned upside down, or final characters; the words pointed above; those that are to be written, and not read; and abundance of other observations, which give occasion to the rabbins to forge mysteries in things which happened accidentally, and where there is no mystery to be found. All that is any way useful in the Massora, is, the fixing of the punctuation and reading, the different readings, and some critical observations upon the correction of the text.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Kéri and the Ketib.

BUT of all the parts of the Massora, there is none more useful than the Keri and the Ketib. The Keri signifies that we must read so; and the Ketib, that it is so written in the text. Therefore when we see the word Keri in the margin, designed by the letter Koph, it signifies that we are to read it again in the margin, and not as it is in the text. Ordinarily they take the points in the text to read

the words in the margin; and the rabbins have therefore made themselves particular rules. The variation, observed in the margin, relates to nothing but the consonants, or entire words: but besides the variation that may come from the uncorrectness of the text, there are other places of the Keri which are founded upon another cause; for in some passages the rabbins have on purpose left a blank place in the text, for some words which they have put in the margin, with this note, *Kerive lo Cetib*, that is to say, They ought to be read, though they be not written. And there are other passages, where they put on the margin, *Cetibve lo Keri*, that is to say, that they write, but do not read the word in question, to which they put no points. But this last comes only from the superstition of some Jews, who believed that they were not to pronounce certain words that seemed not to be very handsome.

Authors are no less divided about the invention of the Keri and Ketib than about the other parts of the Massora: some carry them as high as Moses, and the first authors of the sacred books, which is absurd: others ascribe the invention to Ezra, who, in his review of the canonical books, did, according to them, observe the differences he found between the copies he had, by putting one reading in the margin, and the other in the text. But if that were so, why should we find the same differences observed in the book of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in those of Zechariah and Malachi, could they have been any ways in doubt of the true reading of their own writing? Moreover, had Ezra been the author of the marginal notes of the Keri and the Ketib, the

BOOK VII. Jews would have preserved them with uniformity. But it is certain that there is a difference in this matter between the Jews of the East and those of the West, and that they are mixed with divers observations of the new Massorets. Further, if those marginal notes had been in the copies made use of by the Seventy, the Chaldee paraphrasts, or by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, when they made their versions, they would have read and translated according to Keri; whereas sometimes they follow the Keri, and sometimes the Ketib; which shews that the reading was not then fixed by any marginal note which was looked upon to be of authority. In short, they never spoke of the Keri and Ketib in the Mishna or Gemara: there they only observe, that there are in the sacred books eight words that are read and not written, and five which are written and not read; but there is no footsteps of the other differences which compose the Keri and Ketib. The Massorets have also changed in the Keri and Ketib the number of the words which are read and not written, or which are written and not read; for they have added two to the eight, and six to the five last. Josephus, Philo, Origen, and St. Jerome, make no mention of those marginal notes; they are later than those authors, and are the work of the Jews, who, in reading and comparing their copies, have set down those differences in the margin, partly upon the authority of the copies, and partly by their own conjectures.

As to the nature of those differences, we must observe, in the first place, that they are of small consequence, and that most times it is of no importance which of them be followed. Secondly, though

the Jews observe that we must prefer one of the readings, yet it is not always the best, nor that which the interpreters have followed; therefore we are not always obliged to follow Keri. On the contrary, it is proper to follow the Ketib, when it is authorized by the ancient versions, and makes better sense. Thirdly, all the manuscript copies and editions of the Bible do not agree in all the remarks of the Keri and Ketib, for some have more than others. Fourthly, there are places where the Keri, that is to say, the reading which is in the text, is manifestly vitiated. Fifthly, the greatest part of the remarks of the Keri are useless and frivolous, and relate only to the orthography, grammar, or other small matters that signify nothing to the sense. Sixthly, there are readings of the Keri which are plainly faulty. In fine, the Massorets have not observed in the Keri all the different readings or faults of the text; for it must be confessed that many of them have escaped their diligence. Besides the differences of the Keri and Ketib, which are the most ancient, there are others between the eastern Jews, that is, those of Babylon, and the western, or those of Palestine, who have wrote differently in their copies; and those may, perhaps, be more ancient than the Keri and Ketib. There are others that have been observed by Ben Ascher, a rabbi of Tiberias, and Ben Naphthali of Babylon, who lived in the beginning of the eleventh age. The western Jews did ordinarily follow the reading of Ben Ascher; and the eastern Jews that of Ben Naphthali; but the difference between them is almost nothing but about the punctuation and accents, and are many times of no consequence.

BOOK VII.

We must also reckon, among the different readings, the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or the corrections of the scribes, which is found in eighteen places; and the *Itur Sopherim*, or retrenchments of the scribes, which consists in five words, from which they pretend we must cut off the Vau as useless. We must take notice likewise of the marginal notes *Sebirin*, that is to say, the conjectures of the Massorets, that we must read in such a manner. The difference between those two last notes and the Keri is, that in the Keri they affirm positively we must read so, whereas in the Sebir the reading is held doubtful, and advanced only by way of conjecture. But both one and the other are merely founded on the judgment and pleasure of the rabbins, who thought good to determine and conjecture so and so.

In short, notwithstanding the care and precautions of the Massorets or Jews, who have written or printed the Hebrew Bibles, there are still a great many differences between the manuscript and the printed Bibles; which shews, that let them be never so diligent, it is impossible but some faults will slip in, either in the copying or printing of a work: God would not preserve the holy scriptures from that fate, which is common to all books. He could not have done it but by a continual miracle, which was no way necessary for the preservation of religion; for those variations and faults have no influence upon religion in the least; they do no prejudice to the authority of the holy scripture; they do not hinder, but that we find the truth of religion in it, or that we ought to look upon its authority as divine.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Cabala.

THE Cabala, which we join to the Massora, has in its etymology a signification opposite to that of the Massora; for the one signifies *tradition*, and the other *reception;* but custom has determined the word *Cabala* to signify a tradition of hidden and mysterious things. The Jews have a mighty esteem for this science, and think they make great discoveries by means of it. The Cabala, say they, is a noble and sublime science, conducting men by an easy method to the profoundest truths. It is so much the more necessary, that without it the holy scripture cannot be distinguished from profane books, wherein we find some miraculous events, and precepts of as pure morality as that of the law, if we did not penetrate into the truths locked up under the external shell of the literal sense. God, who is infinite, has been obliged, that he might communicate his thoughts and counsels to mankind, to clothe them in terms proportionate to the weakness of their mind. As men were grossly deceived, when, dwelling upon the sensible object, they took angels for men; they also fall into error or ignorance, when they insist upon the surface of the letter or words, which change with custom, and ascend not up to the ideas of God himself, which are infinitely more noble and spiritual. Thus the Cabalists advance the excellency and advantage of their discoveries. CHAP. XXIX.

They make God the first teacher of this science in paradise, and the angels learnt it of him immediately after the fall of the first man. God indeed said, *Behold, the man is become like one of us.* The mortal

BOOK VII. man did not by his sin become like God; for his crime had sullied his glory and his nature, instead of advancing it to a resemblance of the Supreme Being. But God then shewed the angels his Son, whom he had begotten, and who was not like created intelligences, but like the Divinity. In the mean time he concealed the mystery, and the second Adam, under the name of the first, saying, *Adam is become like one of us.* It being of importance to reveal all these mysteries to man, God sent the angel Raziel, who taught him the truths by means of the Cabala. He assigned angels for the instructors of the succeeding patriarchs, Jophiel was Sem's; Raphael, Isaac's; Metatron, Moses's; and Michael, king David's. Thus the Cabala is as ancient as the world, and descends originally from Heaven.

The Jews had leisure to study it in the desert, where they had a great deal of time upon their hands; and they could not better employ it than in the meditation of the divine attributes. Moses, who was instituted in the mysteries of the Cabala, since he had received lessons from an angel, and penetrated to the forty-ninth gate of prudence, helped to resolve the difficulties that arise, notwithstanding the pilgrimages, wars, and frequent miseries of the nation. He laid down, in his first four books, the principles of this sublime science, and of its most exalted part, which insists upon the perfections and essence of God. And therefore the Cabalists find these four books more masculine and strong than Deuteronomy, which they call *the woman.* The fifth book, which contains the death of Moses, is less valued than the rest, because the Cabala is there wanting. There are some masters that transmitted

it from hand to hand: David and Solomon were most profoundly versed in it; but nobody ventured to write it.

Simeon Jochaides was the first that committed anything of it to paper, and composed the famous book of Zohar, to which a great many additions have been made. This Simeon, it is believed, lived some years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Titus condemned him to death; but his son and he escaped the persecution, by hiding themselves in a cave, where they had leisure to compose the book we speak of. However, as he was still ignorant of several things, the prophet Elias now and then descended into the cave to instruct him; and God miraculously assisted him, by commanding the words to post themselves by one another, in the order that was necessary to the forming of great mysteries. But all this is fiction and dotage; there is no certainty that Simeon lived at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem; and the book Zohar, it is generally supposed, was made but a short time before the Talmud.

The Cabala is ordinarily distinguished into three sorts: the first, which some conceive to be in use before our Saviour's time, is a mystical, allegorical, or analogical explication of passages of scripture, that are not written, but which the doctors of the law pretend to have preserved by tradition, fancying that Moses learnt this mysterious sense from God himself, that he communicated it to seventy men, and that it was preserved by tradition till the time of Esdras, from whom the other Jews learnt it. It is of this Cabala that we must understand the author of the Book of Esdras, when he speaks of certain things he had written, which God commanded him to

2 Esdras, xiv. 46, 47.

BOOK VII. preserve, and not to communicate but to the wisest of the people, who had the spring of understanding, the fountains of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge. It is certain, that the Jews in our Saviour's time were accustomed to give a mystical sense to passages of scripture; but we do not find that they supported that sense by so ancient a tradition. Many times their allegories or morals were only a flourish of wit, and an effort of their own invention, as may be seen in Philo. It is true, there were passages that they unanimously understood of the Messiah, according to ancient tradition; but those passages excepted, it will be difficult to prove that the mystical sense, which the first Jews gave to some passages of scripture, had any foundation in ancient tradition; so that it is without reason to suppose an ancient Cabalistic art among the Jews.

The second sort of Cabala is not an innocent art, but a sort of magic, or necromancy, in which the impious or superstitious Jews employed the words and letters of the scripture, which they distorted and ranked differently for their use, to make angels familiar with them, to work miracles, cure diseases, chase away devils, and to work abundance of other sorceries of the magical art: for that end they made use even of the holy name of God. This art is so far from being any way useful, that it can be looked upon to be nothing else but a damnable impiety, or criminal superstition.

The third sort of Cabala among the Jews, and which they properly call Cabala, is an art by which they found their mysterious expositions upon allusions, transpositions, changes, conjunctions, abbreviations, figure, or arithmetical value of the letters.

This art is very obscure in itself, by their way of expressing it, and their care of keeping it concealed. The principal methods they make use of for discovering those pretended mysteries are, first, to take the letters of a word, and to substitute in their room as many words which begin with each of those letters. Thus it is they pretend to discover the curse which Shimei pronounced against David, where it is said in the text, that he *cursed him with a grievous* 1 Kings ii. 8. *curse*, in Hebrew *nimretseh*. They separate the letters of this word, and form of them as many words, which begin with each of those letters; viz. *noeph*, which signifies adulterer; *Moab*, Moabite; *rosseach*, a murderer; *tsaruch*, leprous; *toheba*, abomination. Then they conjecture that Shimei cast all those reproaches upon David; that he upbraided him with his adultery with Bath-sheba, with his descent from Ruth a Moabitess, and with the murder of Uriah; by which he deserved to have been treated as a leprous and abominable man. This is witty, but not solid. The Cabalists furnish us with many others. It is by the same method that they find in *beresith*, the first word of Genesis, this sentence, *In the beginning God saw that the Israelites would accept the law*, by supposing words that begin with the letters of the word *beresith*. They make use also of the final letters, and according to this rule they explain this sentence, The beginning of your words is *the truth*, because they find the word *truth* in the three words which follow *beresith*, by taking the three final letters of them. To this art we must also refer the dexterity of forming a whole sentence out of a single word, and divers sentences which begin with the words of one and the same phrase.

BOOK VII. The second method made use of by the Cabalists is to join the letters otherwise, or to transpose or unite them differently one with another. Thus it is they find abundance of mysteries in this word *beresith;* for dividing it into *barasith*, it signifies, *He hath created the foundation;* reading it *bar aschi*, it signifies, *I will put the son.* They find abundance of other things in it, by transposing and joining the letters in different manners. This answers to our anagrams. They take also the liberty to change letters, by taking the last of the alphabet for the first, as they allege that Jeremy hath put *Sesac* instead of *Babel*, by putting instead of the two Beths of *Babel*, which is the second letter of the alphabet, the Sin, which is the last but one, and in the place of Caph, which is the eleventh letter descending, the Lamed, which is the eleventh ascending.

The third method, and the most mysterious, is that they call *gematrie*, which consists in explaining a term by the arithmetical value of the letters. Among the Hebrews, all the letters serve to signify numbers: they count the number which the letters of the word produce, and afterwards substitute another word, whose letters make the same number. For example, on those words of Zechariah, *I will bring forth my servant the Branch*, where the Hebrew word is *tsemach*, rabbi Kimchi observes, that we must understand the Messiah by this word; and to prove it, says, that the Messiah is called *Menahem*, which signifies Comforter; and that the Hebrew letters, whereof the word *Menahem* is composed, make the same number in the total, which the letters do that compose *tsemach:* by the same method he finds in the beginning of Genesis, *bere-*

sith, bara, In the beginning he created. This other sentence he formed in the law, because the Hebrew words of the one and the other sentence form the number of nine hundred and thirteen. They pretend also by this method to divine when a thing will happen, by counting the number which the letters of a name make up.

The fourth method made use of by the Cabalists is carefully to observe the figure of the letter, and therein to find some mystery. They draw mysteries also from this, that letters were written and not read, or read and not written; that they are great or little, suspended or turned upside down, full or defective, pointed above, or accented in an irregular manner. In a word, there is not the least trifle but the Cabalists found their dotages upon it, which have no other foundation or rule but their fancy and disorderly imaginations.

CHAP. XXX.

The academies of the Jews.

THE schools of the prophets appeared first in the time of Samuel; but the principal academies of the Jews were erected after the destruction of the second temple, either by this means to supply the sanhedrim and courts of justice, whose jurisdiction was quite extinct, or else to preserve the law and traditions, that were in great danger of being lost through the dispersion of the people, and destruction of the temple. Jerusalem being the centre of religion, and the body of the people flocking thither yearly to perform the weighty matters and ceremonies of the law,

BOOK VII. it was almost impossible they should forget it. But this succour failing, together with the succession of the priesthood, by the ruin of the temple, it was convenient to seek some remedy for the care of so great an evil; and none was found more effectual than the erecting of academies, in which the people might be taught the religion and laws they were to observe for the future.

It is said, that the first of these academies was at Japhne, which was afterwards called Ivelyn, and whither the sanhedrim, say the Jews, was transferred before the destruction of Jerusalem: but it is more reasonable to believe that this venerable council was buried under the ruins of the city.

At the same time there was another academy at Lydda. It was there that St. George delivered a king of Libya's daughter; but this seems to be the history of Perseus, who delivered Andromeda, in the neighbouring city of Joppa, and was taken by the Christians out of Ovid's Metamorphosis, and put into their legend. The famous Akiba was one of the professors of that academy, but Gamaliel turned him out from that to Japhne, and took his place. But the most considerable academy in Judæa at that time was that of Tiberias. It is somewhat strange, that the residence of learning should be transported into Galilee, whose barbarous language made its inhabitants to be known wherever they went. And yet the scholars forsook Japhne and Lydda, to go and study at Tiberias, which Herod the tetrarch had built in a place where they before had buried their dead. There it was that those great masters, so much reverenced at this day among the Jews, taught. Judah the saint, and Chanina, Jona-

than, and many others, were there. The Mishna and Talmud of Jerusalem were composed in this academy. It is pretended that the Massorites, who pointed the Bible, taught also at Tiberias.

Judah the saint did a mighty prejudice to this city, in leaving it for Sephoris, or Diocesarea. Herod had fortified it, as being a fit place to secure his tetrarchy; and perhaps Judah the saint chose it as a much quieter retreat than Tiberias. He died there, after he had taught in it seventeen years. The inhabitants were so excessively afflicted for his death, that they threatened to kill every one that should dare to affirm that he was not alive; and as the academies are valued by their master's reputation, so this was in great repute for some years.

S. Ursini, Antiq. Hebra. Scholast. Academic.

The Jews did not fail to erect academies in the East, in imitation of those that were in Judæa; about the end of the second century they established one at Sora, another at Pundebita. It would be to no purpose to run over all the other places where the Jews have had those schools, since they erected them in those places where they enjoyed the greatest liberty. The academies of the East flourished longer, and were more famous than those of Judæa; yet these latter were the most esteemed, because the doctors that taught in them were more moderate: for disputes in Judæa were handled with a great deal of mildness, love, and charity; whereas those of Babylon were sharp and violent. For this reason, the doctors are put among those three things which bear one another an irreconcilable hatred. This theological resentment is too unhappily known among Christians, as well as among the disciples of the doctors of Babylon.

BOOK VII. The synagogues that were in the East chose their own doctors, and presented them to the chief of the captivity, who laid hands upon them. He then had the same privilege as the bishops of Alexandria and Rome, that ordained generally all the bishops belonging to their dioceses; but the chiefs of the captivity being abolished, this custom has been changed in the East, and the people now confer, and it is the common voice that declares a doctor. In Italy and Germany, the most ancient doctors by word of mouth gave the title of *caver ran*, the master's companion, when he is a young man, or that of *ran* when he is aged; and that word is their whole ordination. If we go higher than the Talmud, we do not only find that they laid hands on the doctors, but they likewise gave them the five books of Moses, with a key, to shew them that they had liberty to open the mysteries of the law; and they added, that they had power to bind and to loose, that is, to determine what was lawful or unlawful.

The power of the doctors is great among the Jews, and they omit nothing that may draw the veneration of the people. They represent themselves as men inspired by God, or like the angels of the ministry. One of their maxims is, "That if a child by the "law is bound to fear and honour his father, he is "yet more obliged to respect his masters: a child "that sees his father and master overloaded with a "burden, or groaning in bondage, ought to unload "his master, and redeem him from slavery before his "father." The doctors often equal their power to that of God himself; for they tell their disciples, that he who contradicts and fights against his master's opinion, in some measure opposes and fights against the

Deity; and that he who murmurs against a doctor murmurs against God; that he who traduces his master's reputation, is the cause of God's withdrawing from Israel. Scholars are not allowed to salute their master as other men, but they must bend their knee before him. It is a crime to pray to God either by his side or behind his back. It is an enormous sin for a scholar to set up a school near to that of his master's; and he that spits in his face deserves to be punished with death. The doctors taught in a sitting posture, but it is not easy to guess what was the posture of the scholars. There is a tradition, that from the time of Moses to that of Gamaliel they stood; and that after this doctor's death, they were permitted to sit, by reason of a sickness which then reigned, and that it was at that time that the glory of the law decayed, because this posture was less respectful. Many doctors have believed that Jacob had this custom in his view when he foretold, *that the lawgiver should not depart from Judah's feet until Shiloh come;* and that he would thereby shew, that some disciples should always learn the law at their master's feet. CHAP. XXX. Maimon. de Studio Legis, c. 4.

The Jewish doctors have the care of instructing the people in the law of Moses, and the traditions of the elders. They determine what is clean and what is not; what meat may be eaten, and what must be abstained from. Their determinations are commonly received with a great deal of respect, but yet they cannot easily gain credit, nor make any one to obey them. They do not receive the testimony of laymen, nor ever trade with them. This is enacted by their own laws; and they never infringe them, but in cases of absolute necessity, which often stirs up the

BOOK VII. people's hatred and rebellion against them. They prohibit pleading at any foreign bar or judicatory, because their proud and haughty temper is such, as makes them think it a shame to submit to a strange power.

These masters are not satisfied with judging the present affairs, but they also sell indulgences and powers to the people of delivering them from hell to all eternity. And the better to authorize this sale, and to make it the more considerable, they give out, that by reason of their vast and excellent knowledge they have of the Talmud, the fire has no power over them, but, like the salamander, they can live in the midst of the flames, and not be consumed. They go further, and say, they have a power to confer this privilege to others; and this reason they allege for it, that as the altar, which was overlaid with a thin leaf of gold, withstood the fire for so many ages, so the Israelites, sanctified or consecrated to God, ought much more to enjoy the same advantage. Women are not allowed by the Jews to keep school; lest the fathers, going to see their children, should seduce them; nor are they suffered so much as to learn the law; so that if they study, they receive but little benefit from it.

CHAP. XXXI.

The orders of Jewish doctors. The Tanaites preservers of tradition. The compiling of the Mischna.

IT is the opinion of the Jews, that God delivered two sorts of laws upon mount Sinai; one that was written down by Moses, and another which he

trusted to his memory, and was transmitted to posterity by the ministry of doctors and prophets. By the help of this distinction they make God say what they please, and give a divine authority to their own imaginations. They have invented a succession of fathers, who have conveyed down these traditions, and they give them the name of *Tanaites*, or *Tanaans*, that is to say, *doctors*. This word is borrowed from another, which signifies *to teach*. They are also called *Mischnaicks*, because the work of the Mischna is ascribed to them. And to some of them they give the title of *Abba*, which signifies *father*. CHAP. XXXI.

They place Ezra at the head of the Tanaites, preservers of tradition; but the rabbinical genius will sufficiently appear by the different things they relate of him. Some of them confound him with Zorobabel, others with Malachi; since this signifies an *angel*, or *messenger*; and that of all the messengers of God to Jerusalem, there was none that more eminently deserved this title than Ezra. Others make him contemporary with Baruch, who delivered to him the tradition at Babylon. And lastly, some say he lived in the same age with Plato and Demosthenes, and yet place him in the times of Alexander the Great, when that prince made his entrance into Jerusalem. The Jewish historians are still less exact about Simeon the Just, whom they make successor to Ezra: they consider him as the last of the great synagogue, who survived all the rest, and preserved the tradition; and they confound him with Jaddua, who received Alexander the Great into their city; and the better to disguise him, they make him to succeed Jehoshua in the high priesthood; nor should we be better instructed in the history of the

BOOK VII. Jews, if we should give an account of all these preservers of tradition down to Judah the Saint, who put it in writing.

The Jews, who neglect other parts of their history, are fondly devoted to those persons who have preserved their tradition, as if the honour of their church and nation depended solely upon it. They load them with extraordinary actions; their lives abound with miracles; and their writers think it a particular duty incumbent upon them to preserve, at least, their names. These doctors, they say, are frequently assisted by the Bath Kol, or *daughter of a voice;* and they ascribe to them the privileges of speaking to angels, the power of commanding devils, and restraining sorcerers. To each almost of these Tanaites are allotted some particular precepts, as to each of the apostles some Christians have ascribed an article of the Creed. The doctors of the great synagogue, established by Ezra, commanded "not "to precipitate judgments, to make many disciples "and ordinances." This is what they call *a hedge of the law.* Simeon the Just, one of the Tanaites, said, "The world was built upon the law, upon re- "ligious worship, and upon the retribution of bene- "fits." He meant by that, that men ought to study the law, to offer abundance of sacrifices, and to be charitable. It was in the same sense that Jose, the son of Jochanan, said, that "the door of the house "was to be opened that was towards the highway," that the poor might enter. But he adds, "That "a man ought to have but little commerce with his "own wife, and none at all with another man's." And the wisemen have confirmed this maxim by saying, "That he that speaks often to women brings

" many evils on himself; is diverted from the study " of the law, and throws himself into hell." This may serve as a specimen of the maxims delivered by the Tanaites: they are all generally precepts of morality, useful for the support of society, and the regulation of human life.

The business of these Tanaites was to study and descant upon those traditions, which had been received and allowed by Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw consequences from them: all which they engrafted into the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had the same sanction of authority with the other. Which example being afterwards followed by those who succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own fancies to what they had received from those that went before them; by which means these traditions became as a snow-ball, the further they rolled from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. Thus it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antoninus Pius was emperor of Rome, at which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing; for they were so numerous, and so much enlarged, that they could no longer be preserved by the memory of men. And besides, upon the second destruction, which their country suffered from the Romans, a little before, in the reign of Adrian, the preceding emperor, most of their learned men were cut off, and the chiefest of their schools dissolved, and numbers of their people were driven out of their land; so that the usual method of preserving their tradition had then in a great measure failed. It being there-

BOOK VII. fore probable, that under these disadvantages all might be forgotten and lost; to prevent this danger, it was resolved that the traditions should be collected together, and committed to writing: and rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, who, from the reputed sanctity of his life, was called *Hakkadosh*, that is, *the holy*, and was then rector of the school which they had at Tiberias, and president of the sanhedrim that sat there, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the number of sixty-three; in which, under their proper heads, he digested methodically all that had to this time been delivered to them concerning their law and their religion by the tradition of their ancestors. This is the book, called *the Mischna*, which was immediately received by the Jews with great veneration through all their dispersions, and has ever since been held in high esteem among them. They believe that all the particulars contained in it were dictated by God himself to Moses from mount Sinai, as well as the written word itself, and consequently is of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Gemara, the Talmud of Jerusalem, and the Talmud of Babylon. Sebureans, or Doubters; Gaons, or Excellents.

JUDAH the Saint had no sooner completed the Mischna, but one rabbi Chua, jealous of his glory, published before his eyes, and in his lifetime, quite contrary traditions: a collection was made of them

under the title of Extravagants, and they were inserted with the Mischna, to compose one and the same body of law. CHAP. XXXII.

Notwithstanding the collection made by Judah seemed to be a complete work, yet two considerable faults were observed in it: one, that it was very confused, the author having reported the opinions of different doctors, without naming them, and determining which of these opinions deserved the preference; the other, which rendered this body of canon law almost useless, that it was too short, and resolved but a small part of the doubtful cases and questions that began to be agitated among the Jews.

To remedy these inconveniences, Jochanan, with the assistance of Rab and Samuel, two disciples of Judah the Saint, wrote a commentary upon their master's work, which is called the Talmud of Jerusalem, either because it was composed in Judæa, for the use of the Jews that remained in that country, or it was written in the common language that was spoken there. The Jews are not agreed about the time that this part of the Gemara, which signifies *perfection*, was made: some believe it was two hundred years after the destruction of Jerusalem, others reckon but a hundred and fifty; and maintain that Rab and Samuel, quitting Judæa, went up to Babylon in the two hundred and nineteenth of the Christian era. However, these are the heads of the second order of doctors, called *Gemarists*, or rather *Amorajim*, because they composed the Gemara, which work cannot be dated till after the time of Dioclesian, because that prince is mentioned in it.

There was also a defect in the Gemara, or Jeru-

BOOK VII. salem Talmud; for it only contained the opinion of a small number of doctors. Besides, it was written in a very barbarous language, which was spoken in Judæa, and was corrupted by the mixture of strange nations; for which reason the Amorajim, or Amoreans, that is, *commentators*, began a new explication of traditions. Rabbi Asa undertook this work, who kept a school at Sora near Babylon, where, after he had taught forty years, he produced his commentary upon Judah's Mischna. He did not finish it, but his sons and scholars put the last hand to it. This is called the Gemara, or the Talmud of Babylon, which is preferred before that of Jerusalem. It is a large and vast body, containing the tradition, the canons of the law of the Jews, and all the questions relating to the law. In these two Talmuds (the Law and the Prophets being in a manner excluded by them) is contained the whole of the Jewish religion, that is now professed by that people. Different have been the opinions of learned men concerning the Talmud, or the body of the canon law and tradition. The Jews equal it with the law of God: some Christians value it excessively; others condemn it to the flames, as a detestable book, and full of blasphemies; and a third sort observe a just medium between all these sentiments. Upon the whole it may be said, that the doctors who made these collections of traditions, taking advantage of the ignorance of their nation, threw upon the paper whatever came into their heads, without troubling themselves with common sense, or with reconciling themselves with foreign history, to which they were utterly strangers.

Ganz. Chron. p. 110.

Though the Talmud was received with a general

applause, if we believe the Jews, yet there started up a new order of doctors that shook its authority by their doubts. They were called Sebureans, or Opiners, and were looked upon by the Jews as so many sceptics, because they disputed without determining, and finding only probability on all sides, that can be taken of different questions, they argued *pro et contra.* These Opiners were succeeded by other masters, called Gaons, *sublime* or *excellents,* which title was not acquired by them till they had given some eminent proofs of their merits. The chief of them were made heads of the academies; and the others were dispersed in the provinces, where there were refugees of their nation. There they were consulted upon all questions that arose, and were considered as interpreters of the law, and their decisions were received as oracles. In the mean time, as each province, independent of one another, had its Excellents, the laws of each doctor were received only in the place were he had credit and authority.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Thirteen Articles of the Jewish Creed.

IN speaking of the religion of the Jews since their dispersion, it may be proper to insert in this place the public confession, and the fundamental articles of their faith, as they are established and believed by the general consent of this people. The Jews commonly reckon but thirteen articles of their faith. Maimonides reduced them to this number, when he drew up their confession, about the end of the eleventh century of the Christian era. It was

BOOK VII. universally allowed, and all Jews are obliged to live and die in the profession of it. A commentary has been since added to it, to explain some places that are too short.

I.

I believe, with a firm and perfect faith, that God is the creator of all things; that he guides and supports all creatures; that he has done every thing; and that he still acts, and shall act, during the whole eternity.

The Commentary adds, that "whatsoever he "hath erected shall return into its primitive nothing "by his good pleasure; but that his essence shall "no ways be altered."

II.

God is one. There is no unity like his. He alone hath been, is, and shall be eternally our God.

The commentator adds, that "he is not a being "that comprehends any different genuses under it, "as a being that may be divided into different parts, "or as a body capable of addition and diminution: "his unity is absolute and perfect, and no other "essence can be compared to it."

III.

God is not corporeal. He cannot have any material properties; and no corporeal essence can be compared with him.

The commentator says upon this article, that "God "can neither go, nor stop, nor speak, &c. and that the "scripture only ascribes to him these corporeal actions, "to comply with the mean capacity of mankind."

IV.

God is the beginning and end of all things, and shall eternally subsist.

The commentator adds, that "God is eternal, and "that all other principles have had a beginning and "being in time."

V.

God alone ought to be worshipped, and none but him ought to be adored.

The Commentary observes, "that to remove idol- "atry, which is condemned by the law, and all the "scripture, neither angel, nor saint, nor planet, nor "any other creature, ought to be worshipped; and "that no mediators or solicitors between God and "men ought to be set up."

VI.

Whatever has been taught by the prophets is true.

VII.

The doctrine and prophecy of Moses are true: he is the father and head of all the doctors that lived before or after, or shall live after him.

VIII.

The law that we have was given to Moses.

The commentator adds, "The oral law, as well as "the written."

IX.

This law shall never be altered, and God will give no other.

The commentator forbids adding or taking away any one point of it.

X.

God knows all the thoughts and actions of men.

XI.

God will regard the works of all those who have performed what he commands, and punish those who have transgressed his laws.

The commentator places this reward in heaven, or in eternal life, and the punishment in hell.

XII.

The Messiah is to come; and although he stays a long time, I will wait for him till he comes.

The commentator adds two things: one, "that "whosoever doubts of the coming of the Messiah, "accuses the whole law of lies and falsehood;" the other, "that the time of his coming ought not to be "looked for in scripture: and therefore the sages "were mightily in the right to say, May he be burst "who reckons the times of the Messiah."

XIII.

The resurrection of the dead shall happen when God shall think fit: blessed and glorified eternally be the name of the Creator, *Amen*.

The commentator concludes with these remarks: "that whosoever embraces these fundamental arti- "cles of faith ought to be looked upon as a Jew, "and to be beloved and pitied: that if he is guilty "of those sins which flow from natural corruption, "or the impetuosity of the passions, God will punish "him in this world, but that he shall obtain eternal "life. And that whoever rejects any of these fun- "damental articles, plucks up what God hath planted, "and deserves to be cast out of the congregation, and "abhorred as an Epicurean."

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

The canon of the holy scriptures of the Old Testament published by Ezra. The books contained in the canon of the Jews.

THE collection of books that are looked upon as the foundation of our religion goes under different names: they are styled *sacred* or *divine books, holy writ, holy scripture,* or simply, *the scriptures, the Old and New Testament,* and lastly, *the Bible,* which at present is become the more common appellation. They are called *holy, sacred,* and *divine books,* because they treat of religion: they contain the commandments of God; nothing can be more holy, nothing more sacred: they are likewise styled *the scriptures* by way of eminence, because no other book is comparable to it. They are called a *Testament,* as they are a solemn declaration of the will of God towards men, which contains his laws, his precepts, his promises, and the covenant which he contracts with them. The most usual name is that of Bible, taken from the Greek word βιβλία, signifying *books.* It does not appear that the ancients ever made use of this name; and it is not long since it became so common as to be made a proper name, which is almost the only one in use in our vulgar languages, and which is set in the front of the Old and New Testament under this title, the Bible, or Holy Bible. CHAP. I.

BOOK VIII.

The books of the Bible are called *canonical books*, because they are in the catalogue of those books which are looked upon as sacred, to which the name of *canon* is ascribed. They are opposed to such books as are called *apocryphal*, which either are not acknowledged as divine books, or are rejected as heretical and spurious. The first canon, or catalogue, of the sacred books, was made by the Jews; but who was the author of it is not so certain. The five books of Moses were, questionless, collected into one body within a short time after his death; since Deut. xxxi. 24. Deuteronomy, which is an abridgment of the other four, was laid in the tabernacle near the ark, according to the command he gave to the Levites. So that the first canon of the sacred writings consisted only of the five books of Moses. There were no more added to them till the division of the ten tribes; since the Samaritans acknowledged none else. Notwithstanding, since Moses there were several prophets, and other writers divinely inspired, who composed either the history of their times, or prophetical books, and divine writings or psalms to the praise of God; but it cannot be discovered that any time before the captivity they were collected into one body, and comprised under one and the same canon. It is evident, that in our Saviour's time the canon of the holy writings was already drawn up, since he cites the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, which are the three sorts of books, of which that canon is composed, and which he often styles *the scripture*, or *the holy scripture*.

It is generally received, that Ezra was the principal author of this canon, though Nehemiah had some share in it; and that he reestablished, cor-

rected, and ordered the sacred books to be written in new characters. This Ezra, by virtue of a commission he had from the king of Persia, was the great reformer of the Jewish church, after the model of the law of Moses, in which he was exquisitely skilled, and settled it upon that foundation, on which it afterwards stood to the time of Christ. The chief things he had to do, were to restore the observance of the Jewish law according to the ancient establishment, as it obtained before the captivity under the directions of the prophets, and to collect and publish a correct edition of the holy scriptures. To accomplish these designs, he had, say the Jews, the assistance of a certain assembly of doctors, who met at that time to regulate the affairs of church and state. There is nothing more famous in the books of the rabbins than this assembly, which they call, by way of excellency, the *great synagogue*, to distinguish it from all others. This they tell us was a convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of Ezra, and among these they name Daniel, and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, as the first of them, and Simon the Just, as the last; though from the last mention we have of Daniel in the holy scriptures, to the time of Simon the Just, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But the truth of the matter seems to have been this; these hundred and twenty men, it may be supposed, were such principal elders as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, to the death of Simon the Just; and in their several times employed themselves in restoring the usage of the Le-

CHAP. I. Ezra viii. ix. x.

BOOK VIII.

vitical rites; and in collecting the books of the holy scriptures; which excellent purposes were finished in the time of Simon the Just. And Ezra, no doubt, had the assistance of such among them as lived in his time: but the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is ascribed by the Jews to Ezra, under whose administration it was done. Upon this account they look upon him as another Moses: for the law, they say, was given by Moses, but it was revived and reestablished by Ezra, after it had been almost extinguished in the Babylonish captivity. Him therefore they call *the second founder of the law;* and it is commonly believed among them, that he was Malachi the prophet; that he was called Ezra as his proper name, and Malachi (which signifies an *angel*, or *messenger*) from his office; because he was dispatched by God to restore again the Jewish religion, and to settle it upon the foundation of the Law and the Prophets, as it stood before the captivity. This person was of so great esteem and veneration among the Jews, that it is a common saying among their writers, "That if the "law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was wor- "thy by whom it should have been declared."

The usages of the Jewish church, which had been practised before the captivity, had been collecting by Joshua and Zerubbabel, with the chief elders their contemporaries, from their first return to Jerusalem, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practised themselves before the captivity, or had been informed of them by their parents and ancestors that lived before them. All these, and whatever else was pretended to be of the same nature,

Ezra brought under a review, and after due examination, having settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the Jews now call their *oral law.* CHAP. I.

But the great work of Ezra was his collecting and publishing a correct edition of the holy scriptures; for which purpose, he procured as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and out of them all he designed to set out a correct edition. His first care was to rectify all the errors that had crept into these copies, through the negligence or mistakes of former transcribers; for, by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, which he confirmed and established.

He proceeded to collect all the books, of which the holy scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order. Josephus is the first writer who sets down distinctly the number of books contained in the canon of the Jews. What he says upon this subject is to be found in his first book against Apion: "Our books," says he, "are written after "such a manner, as none can find fault with, and, "as it were, through a kind of necessity; for to "write, is not allowed to all mankind; and there is "no contradiction in our books, because they were "composed by prophets, who wrote exactly what "was delivered to them by divine inspiration, con-"cerning things which had already happened in an-"cient times, or which were to come to pass here-"after. There is not therefore a great number of "books among us which clash one with another, and "wherein any contradictions are to be found. We "have only two and twenty books among us, which "are to be believed as of divine authority, and which

BOOK VIII.

"comprehend the history of all ages. Five belong "to Moses, which contain what relates to the origi- "nal of man, and the tradition of the succession or "generations of man down to his death, which takes "in the compass of about three thousand years. "From the death of Moses to the reign of Arta- "xerxes, who was king of Persia after Xerxes, the "prophets, who succeeded him, have in thirteen "books written what happened in their time. The "other four books contain hymns to the praise of "God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. "There is likewise written what happened since "Artaxerxes down to our times; but the writ- "ers of them have not met with the same cre- "dit, because there was no certain succession of "prophets during that time. Now it is easy to per- "ceive why such a credit and respect is paid to "our books; since, in so long a tract of time, no "man has ever ventured to add any thing to them, "or to diminish or alter any thing of them; for the "Jews, from their infancy, are accustomed to call "them divine instructions, to believe them, and "upon occasion to lay down their lives in defence "of them."

Thus we perceive Josephus divides the sacred or canonical books of the Jews into three classes: the first contains the five books of Moses; the second, thirteen historical and prophetical books, written from the time of his death to the reign of Artaxerxes; and the last, four books of hymns, or of morality. Since he only names the five books of Moses, which compose the first class, there may arise some difficulty about those of the other classes, and particularly about the thirteen which are con-

tained in the second: for as to the four which are in the third, there is no question to be made but they are the Book of Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles. Among those which ought to be ranked in the second class, there are but two of them which occasion any difficulty, and those are the Books of Job and Esther. For there is no doubt but that it actually contained the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and of the twelve minor prophets. But whereas those books alone make up the number thirteen, it may be supposed that Josephus did not own the authority of the others; and by this means, according to him, the Books of Job and Esther are shut out of the Jewish canon. But on the other side also, since it is known that the Jews, not to exceed the number of their letters, have joined the Book of Ruth to that of Judges, and the Lamentations to the prophecy of Jeremiah, that so they might make two instead of four volumes, the Books of Job and Esther might very well make one of the thirteen books which Josephus places in the second class of the sacred writings. But there are other reasons which seem to question whether Josephus acknowledged these two books as sacred: as first, because he makes no mention of the history of Job in his Antiquities, which it may be supposed he would have done, if he had esteemed it as a sacred book. To this it may be answered, that he omitted it only because it had nothing to do with the history of the Jews, about which his writings were principally concerned. And secondly, because he, in his Antiquities, places the history of Esther under the CHAP. I.

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reign of Artaxerxes, and there asserts, that all the sacred books were penned between the time of Moses and the reign of Artaxerxes: but this is to be understood of the time exclusively, since he says, that the books that were written under the reign of that prince, and since him, do not stand upon the same authority.

St. Jerome has given an account of the number and division of the canonical books, as they were owned by the Jews. He distributes them into three classes: the first includes the five books of Moses, which are called *the Law*. The second, contains the books of the Prophets, being eight in number; viz. the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, to which, says St. Jerome, they join the Book of Ruth, the Book of Samuel, otherwise called the First and Second of Kings, the Book of Kings, which contains the two last parts of that volume: next are the books of the three greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which are three distinct books; and that of the twelve lesser prophets, which make but one single tome. The third class contains those books which they call *hagiographa*, or *holy scriptures;* of which the first is the Book of Job; the second is the Psalms of David; the three next are the Books of Solomon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; the sixth, Daniel; the seventh, the Chronicles; the eighth, Ezra, divided into two parts by the Greeks and Latins; and the last is the Book of Esther. Thus, says that Father, all the books of the Old Testament among the Jews are two and twenty, of which five belong to Moses, eight to the prophets, and nine to the other holy penmen. Some reckon four and twenty, by separating Ruth from Judges,

and the Lamentations from the prophecy of Jeremiah, and placing them in the number of holy writings. This preface, adds he, may serve as a head or introduction to all the books which we have translated from the Hebrew: and we are to take notice, that whatever is not contained in the number of these books is apocryphal. From hence it follows, that the Book of Wisdom, commonly ascribed to Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, said to be composed by Jesus the son of Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and the Pastor, do not belong to the canon, no more than the two Books of the Maccabees, of which one was in Hebrew, and the other (as appears plainly from the style) was written in Greek. Thus St. Jerome has accurately explained the canon of the scriptures, which were received by the Jews. He agrees with Josephus as to the number of the books contained in the canon, but places no more than eight in the second, and nine in the third class. He likewise reckons among the canonical books that of Esther, which Josephus seems to have excluded out of that number, as has been already observed. CHAP. I.

The Jewish canon is generally called *the canon of Ezra;* but it is certain, that all the books were not received into the canon of the scriptures in his time; for Malachi, it is supposed, lived after him; and in Nehemiah, mention is made of Jaddua the high priest, and of Darius Codomannus as king of Persia, who lived at least a hundred years after his time. It is most probable that the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as Malachi, were afterwards added in the time of Simon the Just; and that it was not till then that the Jewish canon of the holy scriptures was fully com-

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pleted. And indeed these last books seem very much to want the accuracy and skill of Ezra in their publication, for they fall short of the exactness to be found in the other part of the Hebrew scriptures. There are some authors who pretend that the Jews have since made one or more canons; and that they have added to the former the books of Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the Maccabees: but it is most evidently true, that the Jews had no other canon but that of Ezra, nor confessed any other books for sacred but those it contains. The two assemblies of the synagogue, which, as it is invented, were held for that purpose, are mere chimeras; nor has any ancient writer said any thing of them. The Jews have named the particular books of scripture from the word with which they begin. Thus with them Genesis is called *Beresith;* Exodus, *Veellesemoth;* Leviticus, *Vai-cra;* and so of the rest.

CHAP. II.

The text of the scriptures not lost during the captivity in Babylon, but was revised and corrected by Ezra.

THE story related by the author of the second book of the apocryphal Esdras, (a book too absurd for the Romanists themselves to receive into their canon,) that Esdras, or Ezra, having taken with him five scribes, and gone to a place of retirement, where in forty days he dictated to them many volumes by divine inspiration, occasioned some of the ancients to look upon him as the restorer of the holy books of the Bible, and to assert that all the copies of the

Chap. xiv.

sacred books were lost during the captivity; and that Esdras, being divinely inspired, restored them by his memory. This many of the Christian fathers, St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, St. Basil, and some others of the ancients, seem to have believed, but without any foundation at all; for besides that the book above mentioned is full of fables, it is not said, even there, that the books which Esdras composed in his retirement were the books that made up the Jewish canon; and it is altogether incredible, that all the copies of the sacred books should be lost during the captivity. Indeed, in the time of Josiah, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that besides that copy of it which Hilkiah found in the temple, there was then no other to be had; for the surprise that Hilkiah is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which Josiah expressed at the hearing of it read, do evidently shew that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the king and the high priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of the holy scripture, it can scarce be supposed that any one else was possessed of it: but so religious a prince as king Josiah could not long leave this misfortune unremedied. By his order copies were immediately written from this original; and search being diligently made after the other part of the holy scriptures, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also. And thus copies of the whole became common among the people: all such as were desirous to know the law, either writing CHAP. II.

BOOK VIII.

them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them.

Besides, Ezekiel and Daniel, and many more of the Israelites, who were pious and good men, were transported to Babylon with king Joachim, eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and can it be supposed that none of those captives carried the sacred books with them? and that no copy of them was preserved during the captivity? Jeremiah remained in this country after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; and shall we believe that neither he, nor any of those who stayed with him, preserved copies of the holy books? It is certain that Daniel had the books of Moses during the captivity of Babylon, because he says in the ninth chapter, (speaking to God,) *All the people of Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice; therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.* And a little after, *As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us.* There is likewise mention in the Book of Daniel, of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah. They must then have had copies of them during the time of the captivity. It is said in the sixth chapter of Ezra, that the building of the temple was finished in the sixth year of king Darius; and that the priests and Levites were established in their functions, according as it is written in the law of Moses. But how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? And this was near sixty years before Ezra came to Jerusalem. In the eighth chapter of Nehemiah,

when the people called for the law of Moses, to have it read to them, they desired that he might *bring the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded Israel;* and it is said that Ezra forthwith brought *the book of the law,* and read it before all the people. The Jews had not only the copies of the sacred books that were in the tabernacle and the synagogues, but had a great many other copies, which they kept carefully, and had them read in their families; how then can we imagine that in seventy years' time all those copies were utterly lost, so that not one of them should be left remaining? The priests and the Levites had a particular obligation to read and preserve the sacred books: their duty required it, and it was their interest that they should be preserved. Can we reasonably suppose that they would suffer them to be lost by negligence, or that they wickedly delivered them all up? and that not so much as one single one did escape? It is the greatest absurdity in the world. CHAP. II.

The learned doctor Abbadie, a Frenchman, in his excellent treatise of the Truth of the Christian Religion, urges this matter further: It is certain, says he, that with all my industry I cannot discover what motives of self-interest could have put Ezra upon such a design, as framing a new model of the holy scriptures. It may at first view seem probable, that he might have intended the promoting the glory of his religion, by inventing several miracles to make it appear of a divine authority; but this thought will vanish into air, by considering that the miraculous matters of fact, together with the circumstances of them, which are contained in the Pentateuch, were so generally well known by the prophets' fre- Chap. xiii.

BOOK VIII.

quent repetitions of them, so essentially linked and interwoven with the law of Moses, and so deeply imprinted, both in the practice and remembrance of the Jews, that it would be a mere chimera, to fancy they can possibly have been counterfeited.

All the benefits Ezra was like to reap from such a work, was the hazard he would have run of being looked upon as a sacrilegious corrupter of the holy scripture; for men's niceties are very well known in this case, those, I mean, who not being over devout, are glad enough of any pretence not to obey the scriptures, but yet would not endure the least alteration in them. And none can be ignorant, that the scruples of the Jews in this respect were always so great as to intrench upon superstition itself.

It is not likely that Ezra should have composed a new scripture in behalf of the Levites, because the Levites enjoyed no privileges after the days of Ezra, but what they did before his time: for that there were Levites before that time, and that those Levites had the tithes of all the possessions of the Israelites before the captivity, we are fully convinced of by the writings of Nehemiah and of the prophets. Besides, the genealogies of the priests being preserved in the same families with so much exactness, that tribes being deprived of all inheritances in the Holy Land, and several other things, are a more perfect confirmation of the same.

Had Ezra ventured upon such an enterprise barely to raise the glory of his nation, doubtless he would have omitted speaking of the ten noted murmurings of the Israelites, and would not have been so zealously careful to relate the prodigious stubbornness and hardness of heart of that people.

Had his affection for Moses been the principal cause of his writing, he would have forborne from representing Moses sometimes as a murderer, and as incredulous and disobedient to the law of God. CHAP. II.

Had he intended to honour the memory of his ancestors, by inventing some circumstances which he thought might turn to their glory, he would certainly have omitted such as were reproachful to them. It was a very great credit for the Levites to have it published, that Levi, the head and father of their tribe, by a deliberate and premeditated perfidiousness with Reuben, had murdered the Shechemites in cold blood, and by that act had drawn upon himself Jacob's curse, mentioned in the Book of Genesis. Ch. xlix. It was not at all for the advantage of the ten patriarchs to have it known that they so basely sold their brother Joseph, or for the Israelites that they had worshipped the golden calf. Thus it appears, that none of all those advantages could have moved Ezra to aspire to the title of being the author of the Pentateuch, but that rather it would have proved much against his interest every way.

It is certain, that any man that should in these modern times take upon him to reform the New Testament, or should pretend to new-model the writings of the apostles, would certainly miscarry in his undertaking, unless he were able to work the very same miracles as the apostles formerly did. And the same must needs have been the fate of the like attempt in Ezra; for though the Jews, who returned from Babylon with him, should so far have confided in him as to allow of it, yet those Jews who remained in the land of Canaan to inhabit the ruins

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of Jerusalem, would not easily have been prevailed upon to consent to it.

Besides, it seems very probable that Ezra would in that case have been less severe to those Jews who took strange women to their wives, and were afterwards obliged to send them back again, with their children they had by them. And if he had not valued the affections of the people, it is probable he would, at least, have had some regard for the priests, thereby to bribe them, (if I may so speak,) whose consent he ought in policy to have courted at any rate: yet he dealt alike with the people, and with several of the children of the priests whose names are inserted at the latter end of his book.

But though we should suppose that the body of priests, as having an interest in such a reform as Ezra intended to make of the scripture, had given their general consent to have it new-modelled, yet, at least, it appears that Ezra could not have concealed his design from those priests, nor from the people of the Jews; for since several of them wept at the sight of the second temple, because it stirred up in them the remembrance of the magnificence of the former, which their own eyes had seen; so we cannot imagine that the long continuance of their captivity could have blotted out of their minds the notions they had of their scriptures, or that they were so ignorant of the law which they had amongst them before Ezra returned from Babylon, as that Ezra could have imposed upon them in that respect.

Since, therefore, Ezra could not make a new scripture without the knowledge of the people, and of his enemies too, he must of necessity have con-

trived some plausible pretence or other, that God had ordered him so to do, or that the scriptures were corrupted; and instead of concealing his intent, he would rather have published it himself, nay, he would have wrote it. Yet we find nothing like this when we peruse his book: every thing in it tends rather to expel that notion from our minds. In it we are informed, that the Jews, who were brought back by Zerubbabel, had preserved the book of the law; that Ezra made it his business only to understand it; and that he expounded it to the people. But lest it should be thought that Ezra and Nehemiah together had unanimously altered and inserted in it whatever matters of fact they pleased, we read at the latter end of the Book of Nehemiah, that he made a second reformation after that of Ezra, which he himself relates in these words; *I contended with them*, says he, *and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hairs—and there was one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest—therefore I chased him from me.* From thence any one may easily judge, whether Ezra and Nehemiah could any manner of way have either changed or new formed the scripture, without being discovered by those priests they had so severely used; and they would certainly have taken the opportunity of revenging themselves, by pulling them down under such plausible pretences. So far that learned Frenchman.

CHAP. II.

Neh. xiii. 25, 28.

Ezra, in his edition of the holy scriptures, took care in many places through the several books, to add what appeared necessary to illustrate, to connect, or to complete them; and in this he was assisted by the same Spirit by which they were at first written.

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Among these additions may be reckoned the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which giving an account of the death of Moses, and of the succession of Joshua after him, it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable that it was added by Ezra at this time; and such also may we conceive to be the several interpolations which occur in many places of the holy scriptures, which were under his examination; and in the other books, the other illustrations were inserted by Simon the Just. But these additions do no way detract from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all made by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This, as to Ezra, is beyond dispute, he being himself one of the divine penmen of the holy scriptures. He was certainly the writer of that book in the Old Testament which bears his name, and is upon good grounds supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of Chronicles; as perhaps also he was of the Book of Esther. And if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing else be so which he has added to any of the rest, since there is all reason to suppose that he was as much directed by the Divine assistance in the one, as he was in the other. The great importance of the work proves the thing; for as it was necessary for the church of God, that this work should be done, so was it equally necessary for the purpose, that the person appointed to execute it should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

This great reformer likewise changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete,

putting instead of them the new names, by which they were distinguished at that time, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus Abraham is said to have pursued the kings, who carried Lot away captive as far as Dan, whereas the name of that place was Laish, till the Danites, long after the death of Moses, possessed themselves of it, and called it Dan, after the name of Dan their father: and therefore it could not have had this name in the original copy of Moses, but it must have been afterwards inserted upon this review. And so in many places in the Book of Genesis and Numbers we have mention made of Hebron, whereas the name of that city was Kiriath-Arba, till Caleb having obtained possession of it, after the division of the land, called it Hebron, after the name of Hebron, one of his sons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till it was placed there, by way of exchange, a long time after the death of Moses.

CHAP. II.

Gen. xiv. 14. Josh. xix. 47.

Ezra wrote out his whole edition of the scriptures in the Chaldee character; for that being chiefly used among the people after the Babylonish captivity, he changed the old Hebrew character for it, which has since that time been retained only by the Samaritans, among whom it is preserved to this day. In this, say some, did Moses and the prophets record the sacred oracles; and in this the finger of God wrote the Ten Commandments upon the two tables of stone. Others strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and none other, had been always the sacred character in which the holy scriptures were written; and that the Samaritan was never in use for this purpose, but only among the Samaritans, who in opposition say

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they, to the Jews, upon the account of the hatred between them, wrote out the law of Moses (which is the only scripture they receive) in this character different from them. These are the principal points wherein the reformation of Ezra was concerned, when he took upon him to publish a correct edition of the holy scriptures.

CHAP. III.

The Hebrew text of the scriptures was not corrupted by the malice of the Jews.

THERE are many authors who have accused the Jews of maliciously corrupting the text of the sacred books, and pretend to found their charge upon the authority of the ancient fathers of the church. Some of them indeed, at the first view, seem to intimate, as if the Jews, out of hatred to the Christians, had been guilty of such false practices. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, have laid something like this at their doors, and two passages of St. Chrysostom are quoted, particularly upon this subject: "The Jews," says he, "deservedly lie under suspicion of wickedly and "craftily corrupting many things, and industriously "concealing the mysteries foretold by the prophets; "but the Seventy, who were called together to in- "terpret the same above a hundred years before the "coming of our Lord, are vindicated from all such "suspicion." And in another place, willing to give a reason why those words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, cited by St. Matthew as the saying of a prophet, are not now to be found in the prophets, he says, "We are not to wonder at it, because the

Homil. 5. in Matth.

Homil. 9. in Matth.

" Jews, who were negligent and impious, have suf- CHAP. III.
" fered to be lost by neglect, or burnt, or torn many
" of the works of the prophets." But this is no charge, that the Jews have falsified the sacred books that we have now, but that they lost and suppressed those we have not.

But on the contrary, it is certain that the Jews always entertained a particular respect for the sacred books contained in their canon, and were persuaded it was criminal to add to them, or to diminish from them. Philo, quoted by Eusebius, assures us, that they preserved the books of Moses in their purity, without having changed so much as one word of them. And Josephus testifies, that the Jews have so great a respect for the sacred books, that for a long succession of ages, none among them durst presume to diminish, or to add to them. It is upon this account that St. Justin brings in Trypho the Jew, saying, (according to the maxims of those of his sect,) " that they were so far from corrupting the
" sacred scriptures, that all of them believe it would
" have been a more enormous crime, than to worship
" the golden calf, to consecrate their children to idols,
" to make them pass through the fire, to sacrifice
" them, or to kill the prophets." The Jews have always preserved, and do still maintain this solemn respect for the books of the Bible: they transcribe them with all precautions imaginable, to make their copies true; and they read them with great exactness in their synagogues. " I will not," says Cu- Lib. i. c. 18.
næus, " ambitiously celebrate the praises of the
" Jews, for I abhor nothing more than such vanity;
" yet as to these latter times, the truth is, if we cast
" up the account rightly, our religion is much in-

Præp. Evang. lib. viii.

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" debted to that people; for, who are they, but the " Jews, that have preserved for us the sacred vo- " lumes of the Bible safe and sound? How many " mistakes had stolen into the holy scriptures, had " the custody of them been committed only to such " as Lactantius, Austin, Gregory, Chrysostom, most " holy men indeed, but unskilful in the Hebrew " tongue: among all the Greek and Latin fathers " that governed the ancient church, Origen and (to " speak the most) Jerome were the only Hebreans; " the rest never learned so much as the very letters: " so that if the carelessness of the transcribers had " committed any faults, they were not the men that " could make amends. But this was the principal " study of the Jews, and their sole care to vindicate " the books of Moses and the prophets, and the other " holy writings, from the injuries of time; this is " their proper character, in which no other nation " can claim a share."

If the Jews had corrupted the holy scripture out of malice to the Christians, in order to deprive them of the arguments and evidences that were necessary to prove the authority of their religion, they would certainly have falsified the texts which contain the predictions of Christ, and such as were opposed to them by the Christians; but those passages have continued in their original purity, and are sometimes more express in the Hebrew text than in the Vulgar translation. Yet if we should allow that the Jews would have corrupted the copies of the scriptures, it was morally impossible that they could do it; for how should they conspire together to carry on such a design? how could they, when dispersed over the earth, agree in all places upon the same falsification?

Is it possible that all of them should have consented to that fraud, and that none of them should oppose it? How could they falsify all the copies, without leaving so much as one in its original purity? Allowing they could have accomplished their design, in respect of the copies which they had in their possession, how could they have corrupted those that were in the hands of Christians? All these suppositions are equally unwarrantable. CHAP. III.

Besides, it seems to have been the particular concern of Providence, not to suffer that the books of the Bible should be corrupted by the malice and perfidiousness of the Jews, especially in those predictions which related to Jesus Christ: for one of the strongest proofs of the truth and antiquity of those prophecies is, that they were preserved and respected by an ancient people, who hate, and are no ways in agreement with us. They give testimony to the antiquity and truth of the books which confound themselves, and demonstrate the truth of our religion; so that St. Austin might well say, When the pagans will not believe that the predictions concerning Christ, which we relate, are true, and maintain that we have forged them, we have nothing to do but to refer them to the Jews, who are the enemies of our faith, and preserve these books, wherein those prophecies are to be found.

It is impossible to think that the Jews that were converted to Christianity did not preserve copies of the sacred books. The Nazarenes, who were a sect of Christians very much addicted to the old law, did, without question, also keep copies of them. The Jews had never these copies in their power to corrupt them, though after the taking of Jerusalem

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there were but few Christians who preserved the Hebrew tongue. It cannot be said, however, that they did not keep the Hebrew copies, and that no Christian learned that language. Hegesippus, who lived a little after the apostles, and of a Jew became Christian, did certainly understand Hebrew, as Eusebius observes. He had, without all doubt, the Hebrew copies of the Old Testament, and many other Christians of Palestine, originally Jews, must certainly understand to read the Bible in Hebrew. So that the Jews could never have falsified their copies without being detected. From the twelfth year of the emperor Adrian, the Hebrew text was conformable to that which we have at present, as appears by that version of Aquila. That corruption then must have been introduced between the taking of Jerusalem and the beginning of the second age, that is, in about thirty or forty years; and it cannot be supposed, that within that time, when there were still so many converted Jews in Palestine, none of them should have secured the copies they had uncorrupted. Can it be believed, that the Jews could in so little time suppress all the copies of the Hebrew text, and substitute counterfeit ones in their places? The Hebrew text, which Origen inserted some time after in his Hexapla, was agreeable to that which we have still. In short, in the time of St. Jerome, the Jews and the Christians had the same Hebrew text that we have at present. And the version of St. Jerome is a certain evidence, that no considerable change has been made in it since that time, and by consequence, that the Jews have not corrupted it. And besides, the uncommon and scrupulous diligence of the Massorites must have contributed greatly

to the preservation of the text in its original pu- CHAP. III.
rity.

But still it must be confessed, that though the Hebrew text has not been maliciously falsified by the Jews, yet we are not to maintain that the text is in its original purity, and that it is not corrupted in any place. This is to suppose that the Jews, who copied it, were never mistaken; that they never put one letter for another; that they always pointed the text right; or that they have preserved the text without the least fault from the time of Moses, or from Ezra, till now; that is, that they are infallible, and not subject to error in their reviews, pointing, and copying of the sacred books; and that they were not incident to negligence nor surprise; which can proceed from nothing but a peculiar assistance from God, and a sort of continual inspiration. This is not only to speak without all evidence, and contrary to all probability, but we have good proof to the contrary; for among other reasons, it is certain that there have been differences between the oldest of the Hebrew copies, which the Massorites have observed by that which they call *Keri* and *Ketib*, and putting one of the readings in the text, and the other in the margin; we have the different readings of the Jews of the East, and those of the West; of Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali; and the manuscript copies of the Bible are not always alike.

But though we cannot say that the Hebrew text is without fault, yet it must be owned that there is no considerable mistake, that affects either doctrine or manners. Most of the differences between the originals and the versions consist only in different expressions, which are more or less clear, and which

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agree better or worse with what goes before and comes after, which make the sense more or less perfect. The Hebrew text contains in no place a dangerous falsehood, nor a manifest error. And therefore, those sort of faults do no way invalidate or diminish the authority of the Hebrew text, nor do they hinder but that it may pass for authentic, and as the rule of our faith and manners. Those different readings and small faults, which are usually to be found in all books sacred and profane, both in the text and in the versions, do not prevent our certainty, having the authentic works of the authors, nor hinder our knowing their true sentiments. To infer then, because the original texts of the scriptures have been subject to the common law of all other books, and that small faults are crept into them by the inadvertency or neglect of the copiers; to infer from thence, that we have not at present any more of the word of God or the holy scriptures divinely inspired, would be as great a folly as his, who should maintain that we have not now the works of Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, or Livy, because there are faults and defects in all those works. To lay this down as a principle, is to overturn the foundation of all our historical knowledge, and to introduce an unwarrantable scepticism.

CHAP. IV.

Of the apocryphal books.

De Civit. Dei, lib. xv.

IT was the opinion of St. Austin, that though we find in the apocryphal writings some truths, yet they have no authority, by reason of the many falsities

contained in them. "They are not," says he, "in CHAP. IV.
"the canon of the scriptures, which was preserved
"in the temple by the carefulness of the priests,
"who succeeded one another, because they were
"suspected by them, and not known whether they
"belong to those whose names they bore. This
"they conjectured from their not being produced
"by such persons of whom an assurance might be
"had, that they had been preserved by them in a
"lineal descent or succession: this made them think
"that they belonged not to those whose names are
"inscribed on them, since heretics produce several
"tracts under the name of the prophets and apostles,
"which are distinguished from those that have ca-
"nonical authority, by the term *apocryphal*." So
that according to this Father, a book is apocryphal,
because its authority is not established by a clear
and credible testimony. St. Jerome declares, "That Epist. 2. ad Lætam.
"the apocryphal books do not belong to those whose
"names are in the titles, and that they contain seve-
"ral forgeries." In other places he seems to re-
strain the word *apocryphal* to the books of heretics.
Others pretend that the books are apocryphal, be-
cause they were *concealed*, and not commonly or
publicly read.

The books of the Old Testament which were al-
ways looked upon and received as canonical books,
both by Jews and Christians, are the five books of
Moses, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and
Deuteronomy; the book of Joshua, the book of
Judges, the book of Ruth, the two books of Samuel,
the two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, with the
Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, (excluding the his-
tory of Susannah, of Bel and the Dragon, and the

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Song of the Three Children,) the twelve Lesser Prophets; the book of Job, the book of Psalms, the three books of Solomon, viz. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; the two books of Chronicles, and the two books of Ezra, or rather one of Ezra, and one of Nehemiah. The books whose authority have been questioned are, the book of Esther, (though many Jews and Christians have owned it,) Baruch, and the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, with the two books of the Maccabees.

Some are of opinion that the book of Esther was included in the canon of the Jews; but according to others it was not. It is certain that St. Jerome, and other Christian writers, did insert it among those which were of the Jewish canon. It is not found in the canons of Melito, St. Athanasius, and others; but yet we meet with it in those of Origen, in the council of Laodicea, and in the writings of many fathers of the church, particularly Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, applauded the conduct of Esther. Which is evidence that this book was known and esteemed by the primitive Christians. The six last chapters, beginning at the fourth verse of the tenth chapter, are not in the Hebrew text. Origen believes, that formerly they were in it, and were afterwards lost; but it is more probable that they were a composure of several pieces collected by the Hellenistical Jews, and which were added by the author of the Greek version. St. Jerome deservedly throws this part of Esther out of the canon of the sacred books.

The book of Baruch was not acknowledged by the Jews, because it was not written in Hebrew. It is joined to the prophecy of Jeremiah by many of the

ancient fathers, and is often cited by them under the name of that prophet. CHAP. IV.

It is observed by Origen, that the books of Tobit and Judith were not received by the Jews, nor so much as placed among their apocryphal writings. These books met with better reception from the Christians; for they were read to the catechumens, as containing a plainer and less elevated doctrine than the rest: they were allowed to be read in the churches, for the edification of the faithful, though they were not believed to be authentic enough to establish and support any articles of faith. St. Jerome, who excludes the book of Tobit from the canon, and places it among the Jewish apocryphal books, yet took the pains to translate it, and speaks very favourably of it in the preface of his version.

The book of Judith is not only thrown out of the ancient catalogue of sacred writings, but is not so much as cited by the ancient fathers, who notwithstanding frequently applaud the bravery of this woman. St. Jerome, indeed, calls it a *sacred volume*, and joins it to the books of Ruth and Esther; *Ruth, Esther, et Judith, tantæ gloriæ sunt ut sacris voluminibus nomina indiderint.* But it is certain that this father did not keep always to the same language concerning the books which are not in the Jewish canon; for those which in some places he pronounces *apocryphal*, in others he expressly cites as *sacred writ.* Epist. 7. et 103. ad Paulin.

The books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are inserted in the ancient catalogues among the useful books that are read in the church for edification, but are uncanonical; and though they are often cited by many fathers as holy scripture, it does not

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follow from hence that they are canonical writings. On the contrary, Origen, St. Jerome, and St. Hilary, place them among the apocryphal; and St. Basil, in his preface to his Commentary on the Proverbs, says expressly, "that there are but three books which "belong to Solomon." And in other places he gives sufficient hints, that he never looked upon the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as fit to be inserted in the canon of the church.

The two books of the Maccabees are cast out of the catalogue of the sacred books by most of the ancient fathers; but St. Austin, speaking of the action of Razis, who killed himself, has this expression concerning these books: "The Jews do not "admit of the books of the Maccabees, as they do "of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. But "the church receives them; and they are not un- "useful, provided they be read and understood with "some caution and restriction: they are likewise "very valuable upon the account of the history of "the seven brethren who suffered under Antiochus "the tyrant."

Tract. advers. Gaudent.

A part of the book of Daniel, containing the prayer of Azarias, and the song of the three children in the fiery furnace, which begins at the twenty-fourth verse of the third chapter, and ends at the ninety-first, were entirely thrown out of the canon of the scripture, and rejected by the Jews; nor did they admit of the history of Susannah, related in the thirteenth chapter; and of Bel and the Dragon, in the fourteenth and last. These subjects are not in the Hebrew or Chaldee text, nor in the Greek version of the Septuagint, but are taken out of the Greek version of Theodotion, in Daniel's prophecy, as St. Je-

rome observes in his preface, and in the note he has made on those places. These narrations have not only been accounted uncanonical, but esteemed fabulous by most of the fathers of the church. CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

The divisions of the books of the Old Testament, and the order they were placed in by the Jews.

THOUGH the distribution of the books of the Old Testament into several classes be a thing arbitrary, yet it may be proper to inquire into the method that has been most common and generally followed. The Jews made three classes of the canonical books: the first of the Law, containing the five books of Moses, which they call *Thora:* the second of the Prophets, called by them *Nevijm,* which comprehends the other historical books, with the prophecies: and the third of the *Hagiographa,* or sacred writings, which they called *Cetuvim,* containing hymns or psalms to the praise of God, with the pieces of morality. But according to Josephus, the second class takes in thirteen books, and the third no more than four: whereas, according to St. Jerome, the second class contains but only eight, and the third nine, because he has placed in this last the book of Job, that of Daniel, (whom the Jews thought fit to strike out of the number of the prophets,) the Chronicles, the book of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the book of Esther. In this distribution Ruth is joined with Judges, and the Lamentations with the prophecy of Jeremiah. Several of the rabbins, and the Septuagint, reckon up four and twenty

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sacred books, that they might be conformable to the letters of that alphabet; wherein they repeated the letter Jod three times in honour of the name of Jehovah, which the Chaldees wrote by Jods. It is for this reason that the Jews, at this day, do commonly make use of the name of *four and twenty*, to signify the holy scriptures, because it is comprised in four and twenty books. Some have reckoned seven and twenty, by separating all the double books; and that they might have characters to mark them, they added to the usual two and twenty letters, the five finals, viz. Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, and Tsaddi, which are of a different figure at the end, from what they are in the beginning or middle of words.

In this distribution of sacred books into three classes, they have assigned a distinct class for the books of Moses, because he was their first lawgiver, and founder of their religion. The second class consists of two parts, containing four books each: the former they style "Ancient Prophets," *Nevijm Rasconim*, viz. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the books of Kings: and the second, "The more Modern Pro-" phets," *Nevijm Ahharonim*, which are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Lesser Prophets. The third class comprehends not only the book of Job and the Psalms, which are poetical pieces, and the books of morality, that is, the three tracts of Solomon, but also the book of Daniel, (who is not reckoned as a prophet by the Jews,) and the historical books of the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. These books are styled *Hagiographa*, or, as they term it, *Honcahh Hascodisch*, that is, books written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to dis-

tinguish them from the former, which they call *prophetical;* for the Jews make a distinction between prophecy and divine inspiration. "Prophecy," says Maimonides, "is a revelation made to men in a "dream; or when they are in an ecstasy; or by "some vision and representation; or, lastly, by a "voice: whereas divine inspiration is conveyed to "persons who are indued with a soundness and "presence of mind, who speak as other men, and in "whom nothing extraordinary appears, but who "are inspired by the Holy Ghost, that enlightens "their minds, and suggests words to them, by which "they praise God and improve men, and even fore-"tell things to come." But if this distinction be allowed, the book of Daniel has no reason to be excluded from the prophetical; for he was a man who had many visions and apparitions in his sleep. The latter Jews, who count four and twenty canonical books, place Ruth and the Lamentations among the Hagiographa. The rabbins have made allusions of these three classes of sacred books with the three parts of the tabernacle or temple: the law of Moses, they say, is correspondent with the holy of holies, where the ark and the book of the law were deposited: the book of the prophets with the holy place, where the table, the candlestick, and the golden altar were: and the Hagiographa to the court of the temple, where was the altar for whole burnt sacrifices. They have many other trifling notions, which carry neither soundness nor advantage with them.

CHAP. V.

More Nevoch. c. 45.

Though the Jews are not agreed about the disposing of the books in each class, yet they all place the five books of Moses in the front. The books of

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Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Kings, were those that were placed next the second class of the ancient Jews. But the moderns have taken Ruth from thence, and joined it with the Canticles, Lamentations, and Esther. They have made of them a sort of a second Pentateuch, which they place after the Proverbs.

The order of the other prophets in the ancient Jewish canon runs thus: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Lesser Prophets. The Talmudists place Jeremiah and Ezekiel before Isaiah, but the Massorets keep to the usual method. The former place Ruth before the Psalms, and the book of Job after them, just before the Proverbs: Daniel, Esther, and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, are the last of the Hagiographa.

CHAP. VI.

Books cited in the Old Testament that are lost.

IT is certain that there are many books cited in the Old Testament which are entirely lost a long time ago, and which were not inserted in the Jewish canon; though the number, I think, is not so great as some learned men have alleged. The first of these books commonly named upon this occasion is, *the book of the covenant*, mentioned in Exodus, which though some fancy is lost, is supposed by others not to be a distinct book from the body of the Jewish laws. If we impartially weigh the place, we shall find that it is no other than a collection or volume of those several injunctions and institutions, which we read in the preceding chapters, which God

Exod. xxiv. 7.

Ch. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii.

delivered to Moses on the mount. It is the very same with *the book of the law* mentioned in Deuteronomy. That which has caused a different persuasion in some is this, that these laws are called *a book;* but it is evident, that this appellation is of a great latitude, and is applied to any sort of writing by the Hebrews. CHAP. VI. Deut. xxxi. 9.

The book of the wars of the Lord is supposed to be now wanting. To which opinion the answer given by some is, that this was an apocryphal author, and so cannot be said to belong to the holy scriptures. But though this way of solution be tolerable, when made use of as to some other books hereafter mentioned, yet I think there is no need of using it here; because it is not unlikely, according to the judgment of Dr. Lightfoot, that Moses refers here to himself, and a book of his own composing: for we read, that upon the discomfiture of Amalek, God commanded Moses to *write it for a memorial in a book, and* (as it follows) *to rehearse it in the ears of Joshua.* So that it may seem to have been some book of directions written by Moses for Joshua's managing of the wars after him. Thus this learned writer makes this book only to be of private use, and dictated by an ordinary, not a divine spirit, wherefore it cannot be one of the books of the Bible; and if this be true, though it be lost, yet no canonical scripture is lost hereby. But perhaps it may be found reasonable to believe, that the book in this place mentioned is one of the received books of the Old Testament, and no other than the book of Judges, which deservedly has the name of *the book of the wars of the Lord,* because it recounts those warlike enterprises, which those heroic spirits, Numb. xxi. 14. Chronic. of the Times of the Old Testament. Exod. xvii. 14.

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stirred up by God in an extraordinary manner, were famous for. *The wars of the Lord* may signify as much as the *great, wonderful,* and *renowned wars,* (for perhaps the name of God is used here, as in several other places, to augment the sense, and to express the greatness and excellency of the thing,) fought by the valiant Hebrews. To any one who consults the text, together with the twenty-sixth verse of that chapter, it will plainly appear that this passage particularly refers to the eleventh chapter of Judges, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth verses. But if it be asked, how Moses, who was dead long before, could write this; it may be answered, that though he undoubtedly writ the book of Numbers, as well as the rest of the Pentateuch, yet some few passages in this and the other books may reasonably be supposed to be inserted afterwards by some other inspired persons, as I have had occasion to advertise in another place. Ezra, it is probable, revising this book, added this of what God did in the Red sea, and at the brooks of Arnon. And to give full satisfaction upon this subject, it may be observed, that though we translate the text thus, *It is said in the book of the wars,* yet, in the original, the verb is in the future tense, *It shall be said;* and so we may look upon it as a prophecy of Moses. He foretells in this place, *that afterwards it shall be commemorated how God fought for his people.* When there shall be at solemn times a rehearsal of the Hebrew wars, then this passage shall be called to mind, and made mention of: and then we must look upon these two verses, not as cited out of the Book of Judges, but proposed to be inserted there afterwards. The plain answer then is, that the Book

of the Wars of the Lord is the Book of Judges, together with that of Joshua, where are related the particulars of the holy war, that is, the wars of the Hebrews against the infidels; and that in one of these it shall be particularly remembered and recorded, *what God did in the Red sea, and in the brooks of Arnon;* and accordingly we find it inserted in the forecited place in the Book of Judges. CHAP. VI.

Another book, said by some to be lost, is the Book of Jasher, mentioned in the scriptures. But some of the most celebrated Hebrew doctors say they have found it, telling us, that it is the Book of Genesis, wherein are contained the acts of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other patriarchs, who were, by way of excellence, called Jasherim the Just. But that man must be easily satisfied who can acquiesce with this interpretation. Dr. Lightfoot holds the Book of Jasher to be the same with that which I asserted the Book of the Wars of God to be: but there is little foundation for it; for though the particular narrative of the sun's standing still be in the Book of Jasher, (as we learn from the text;) yet there is no intimation that all Joshua's wars, or the wars of the Israelites, were registered there. This book, according to Grotius, was a triumphal poem: but Josephus seems to bid fairest for the truth, who says, "That by this book are to be understood cer- "tain records kept in some safe place on purpose, "and afterwards in the temple, giving an account "of what happened among the Hebrews from year "to year, and particularly the prodigy of the sun's "standing still, and directions and laws about the "use of the bow, that is, the setting up of archery, "and maintaining military exercises." If it be in-

Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18.

Antiq. lib. v. c. 2.

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quired why the title given to these Hebrew annals was the Book of Jasher, that is, *the upright*, this may be rendered as a reason, because it was by all persons reckoned as a very just and authentic account of all those events and occurrences which it recorded, it was composed with great *uprightness* and truth, thence it was commonly known by the name of Jasher's Book, or Chronicle. It was not the work of any inspired person, but was of the nature of common civil annals; and consequently, we cannot infer from hence, that any book properly belonging to holy scripture, that is, that was written by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is at this day missing.

Learned men differ about the works of the authors hereafter mentioned; but the most reasonable conjecture is, that the books cited under their names were memoirs composed by them, or rather they were prophecies intermixed with historical narrations which are utterly lost.

1 Chron. xxix. 29. *The acts of David the king*, we are told, *were written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.*

2 Chron. ix. 29. *The acts of Solomon, first and last*, are said to be *written in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat.*

2 Chron. xii. 15. *The acts of Rehoboam, first and last*, were *written in the book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies.* The acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, were written in the book of Jehu, the son of Hanani. The book of the Journals, or Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel, are certainly different from the Paralipomena,

or the Chronicles now extant with us. The *three thousand proverbs* which were written by Solomon, and *a thousand and five songs*, and a great many tracts concerning plants and animals, composed by the same author, are lost. *The acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto God*, and all his sins and his trespass, and *the places wherein he built high places, and set up groves and graven images, before he was humbled, behold they are written in the sayings of the seers:* so it is rendered in our translation. In the original, it is in *the sayings of Chozai*, who, it is supposed, was a prophet, that wrote the particular history of the sins and repentance of Manasseh the king of Judah; and, perhaps, the prayer of Manasseh, still extant in the Apocrypha, was taken out of this work. Jeremiah speaks himself of a volume of prophecies which he had dictated to Baruch, concerning the wrath of God denounced against the Jews, and the city of Jerusalem; which book was cut to pieces and cast into the fire by king Jehoiakim. Jeremiah coming to understand it, ordered those prophecies to be written over again, and added to them several fresh denunciations against the king of Judah and his people. Some think this piece to be the same with the Lamentations. This prophet, in another place, makes mention of a prophecy he had composed, concerning the ruin of Babylon, which he ordered Seraiah, when he went to Babylon, to fasten to a stone, and cast into the river Euphrates.

CHAP. VI.

1 Kings iv. 32.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19.

Chap. xxxvi.

Ch. li. 60, &c.

Now concerning these books, cited in the Old Testament, if it be asked whether they are canonical, it is plain that they are not so in the sense wherein we have explained it, that is, they were never inserted

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in the canon of the Jews. None of these pieces are now extant; nor if they were now remaining, and we were well satisfied of their antiquity, can any one tell whether they should be included in the canon. Nor can any one be satisfied whether they were written by divine inspiration, or were only of human invention. When Ezra drew up the canon of the sacred books, he could not insert into it those that were lost before his time, nor ought he to insert those that were doubtful, spurious, or adulterated. He only inserted such as had been manifestly composed by the prophets, penned by divine inspiration, and acknowledged as such by an universal and unanimous consent. But it is not necessary, for this reason, to say that there were never any other books divinely inspired; and that there were not any others, even in his time, but those that are inserted in the canon, since there might have been some of them lost; and among those that remained, and he rejected, there might have been some divinely inspired writings, but of whose genuineness and inspiration he was not well assured. This canon has indeed fixed and determined the number of books that ought to be acknowledged as sacred and divine; but it has not included, in general, all those that are penned by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, at least such a thing cannot positively be asserted. Nor can it be said, for certain, that all those which are cited in the sacred books, nor that all the books composed by the prophets, were of divine inspiration. To this purpose St. Austin has this useful distinction: "The penmen of the sacred scripture," says he, "writ some things, as they are men, with historical "care and diligence; other things they write as

De Civit. Dei, lib. xxviii. c. 38.

" prophets, by inspiration from God. This then may
" satisfy us, that all that was written by the pro-
" phets, and even by those holy men who were au-
" thors of some part of the Bible, was not canonical
" and divine, because they writ some things not as
" inspired persons, but as mere historians. It would,
" says Origen, (in his preface of his Commentary on
" the Canticles,) be an invidious task indeed, and
" nothing to our present purpose, to make an inquiry
" about those books, of which mention is made in
" the holy scriptures, which are not at present extant,
" and which are not so much as used by the Jews
" themselves. Whether the Holy Ghost thought fit
" to erase them, because they contained such things
" as were above the reach of vulgar capacities; or
" whether they were of the number of apocryphal
" books, and contained in them several interpolations
" and things contrary to the faith; and for that
" reason were not admitted into the canon, nor al-
" lowed to be authentic, it is not for us to determine
" any thing on this subject: however, it is evident
" that the evangelists and apostles have related seve-
" ral instances, inserted in the New Testament, which
" are not to be met with in the canonical scriptures,
" but in the apocryphal, from whence it is plain
" that they took them; yet we are not upon this
" account to reckon the apocryphal books as au-
" thentic, since it is not proper that we should
" break through the limits which our forefathers
" have assigned us. The apostles and evange-
" lists, who were filled with the Holy Ghost, knew
" very well what ought to be taken out of those
" writings, and what ought to be rejected; but for
" us, who have not the same fulness of the Divine

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" Spirit, we cannot without great danger pretend to " any such thing."

The principal reasons that can be given how these books came to be lost are thus expressed by St. Chrysostom, in the ninth Homily upon St. Matthew; where he observes, that several monuments of the prophets are lost, as may be proved from the Chronicles; for, as he then adds, the Jews having been at some time careless and negligent, and at other times profane, they suffered some of these books to be lost through their carelessness, and have burnt and destroyed others. Jeremiah makes mention of their profaneness; and concerning their negligence we read in the Second Book of the Kings, that for a long time together the Book of Deuteronomy could not be met with, which was hid somewhere or other, and almost wormeaten. Now if the sacred books were lost in a time of profound peace, who would wonder at such an accident, when the Gentiles made war against them, and invaded their country?

CHAP. VII.

Books not inserted into the Canon of the Old Testament, but forged either by Jews, or by Heretics among the Christians.

THERE are other books which are not in the canon of the Old Testament, but are still extant; and they are these that follow: The Prayer of king Manasseh, when he was captive at Babylon. It is to be found in the apocryphal writing just after the History of Bel and the Dragon. It is neither in the Greek nor Hebrew text, only in the Latin.

The two books of Esdras are likewise in Latin in the Bibles of the vulgar translation, immediately following the Prayer of Manasseh. The first, which we have in Greek, is only a recapitulation of the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah; the second, which is only in Latin, is full of visions and dreams, and manifest fables, and is supposed to be written by a converted Jew. CHAP. VII.

The Third Book of the Maccabees contains the wonderful deliverance of the Jews of Egypt, whom Ptolemy Philopator, incensed at his being denied entrance into the temple, when he came to Jerusalem, after the defeat of Antiochus, had exposed in the amphitheatre of Alexandria to the fury of elephants. As to the subject-matter of it, it ought (if the Maccabees must come into the title) be called the First Book of Maccabees; for the things it relates were first in order of time, as being transacted before ever those Maccabees, of whom we have the history in the First and Second Book of the Maccabees, were at all in being. But this book being of less authority and repute than the other two, it has for this reason been reckoned after them, according to the order of dignity, though it be before them in order of time. It seems to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew in the Greek language, not long after the time of Siracides. What is related in the beginning of it, concerning the exploit of Theodotus, the battle of Raphia, and Arsinoe's accompanying her husband in it, is manifestly taken from Polybius, and therefore it must have been written after the publication of that history. It is extant also in Syriac: but the author of that version seems not well to have understood the Greek original; for in some places he

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varies from it through manifest ignorance of the Greek language. It is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the Greek Septuagint, as particularly in the king's library at St. James's and in the Vatican manuscript at Rome, which are two of the most ancient manuscripts of the Septuagint now in being. It was never inserted into the vulgar Latin version of the Bible, or is it to be found in any manuscript of it; and that version being only in use through the whole western church till the reformation, the first translations which we have of the Bible into English were made from thence; and for that reason, none of those having the Third Book of Maccabees among the apocryphal books, it has never since been added, though it deserves a place there much better than some parts of the Second Book of the Maccabees: for though it comes to us in a romantic dress, with some embellishments of a Jewish invention, yet it is not to be doubted, but the groundwork of it is true, and that there really was such a persecution raised against the Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Philopator, as that book relates. The first authentic mention we have of this book is in Eusebius's Chronicon: it is also named with the two other books of the Maccabees in the eighty-fifth of the Apostolic Canons; but when that canon was added is uncertain.

Page 185.

The Fourth Book of Maccabees contains the History of Hircanus. It is rejected as apocryphal, and scarce so much as mentioned among the ancients. It seems to have been taken out of the book of the actions of John Hircanus, of whom mention is made at the latter end of the First Book of the Maccabees. Its narration is much like that

of Josephus, but it has not so much of the Hebrew idiom. CHAP. VII.

At the end of the Book of Job, in the Greek edition, there is a genealogy of Job, who is there said to be the fifth from Abraham, with an account of the names of the kings of Idumea, and the kingdoms of Arabia. This appendix is neither in Hebrew nor Latin. There is likewise in the Greek a speech of Job's wife, which is not in the Hebrew.

At the end of the Psalms, in the Greek edition, there is a psalm added, which is none of the hundred and fifty. It is said to be composed by David (whilst a youth) after his combat with Goliath.

After the Book of Wisdom, there is a speech of king Solomon, taken out of the eighth chapter of the First Book of the Kings.

The Book of Enoch, so famous of old times, and cited by so many of the ancient Fathers, is now lost. The learned Dr. Grabe has collected some Greek fragments of it, and published them in his *Spicilegium Patrum:* from them we learn, that he treats of stars, and their influence; of the angels descending down to the earth, and their familiarity with the daughters of men; of the giants born of them: in short, it contains a great many fictions upon these and other subjects. Therefore all the Fathers of the Church, except Tertullian, have deservedly rejected it as an apocryphal book, which did not belong to the patriarch Enoch. What causes the difficulty is, that it seems as if this book were cited as Enoch's by the apostle St. Jude in his canonical epistle; from whence it may be inferred, that we must either reject the epistle of St. Jude, or believe that the book was really of that patriarch's composing. To this Verse 14.

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St. Jerome replies, that St. Jude might have cited an apocryphal book, and yet his epistle be no less canonical; and that there are several passages taken out of the apocryphal writings to be found even in the other books of the New Testament, which ought not to lessen the authority of the canonical books, nor make the apocryphal to be authentic.

There is a book called *The Assumption of Moses*, cited by many of the ancient Fathers; from whence it is pretended that St. Jude has taken the testimony of Michael the archangel, disputing with the Devil about the body of Moses. St. Clement relates a vision of Joshua and Caleb, taken out of this book. There is another, called *The Testament of Moses*, placed by the author of the Synopsis, attributed to St. Athanasius, among the apocryphal writings.

Strom. lib. vi.

Origen cites a book entitled *The Assumption: The Apocalypse*, or, *The Secrets of Elijah.*

The Jews have forged several books which they have fathered upon the old patriarchs, such as, *The Generations, and the Creation of Adam.* They commonly believe that Adam wrote a treatise of the philosopher's stone. There is a book of magic, which they attribute to Cham. They have a book under the name of *Abraham upon the Creation.* And there is another ascribed to Origen, called *The Assumption of Abraham;* where the good angels and the devils are introduced disputing together about the salvation or damnation of that patriarch.

Dr. Grabe has published in his *Spicilegium* an entire treatise in Greek and Latin, called *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs:* it contains seve-

ral prophecies and moral instructions put into the mouths of those dying men. CHAP. VII.

The author of the *Synopsis* speaks of two apocryphal pieces, of which one is *The Prophecy of Habakkuk*, from whence it is said that the History of Bel and the Dragon, which is in Daniel, was taken; and the other, a collection of prophecies under the name of Ezekiel, divided into two parts. In other places we find mention of the following books: *The Prophecy of Eldad and Medad;* a book of Jannes and Jambres, the magicians of Pharaoh; *The Apocalypse*, or *Revelation of Adam*, forged by the Gnostics; *Of the Sons and Daughters of Adam*, feigned by the Manichees; a book called *Seth*, which contains a prediction of the star that appeared at our Saviour's birth; *Jacob's Ladder*, invented by the Ebionites. In short, there was anciently a great many books of this nature, composed either by the Jews, who were great lovers of such kind of fictions, or by the heretics, the better to spread the poison of their errors. But it would be an unprofitable as well as an invidious task, to attempt an exact catalogue of them.

There are two passages cited in the New Testament, as taken from the prophets, which are not to be found in any of them, and which some have pretended were taken out of other books. The first is in St. Matthew, where it is said, *that Jesus dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene:* which words are not in any of the prophets we have by us. To this it may be answered, that if *the prophets* in this place are taken for prophetic men, who spoke only, and did not Chap. ii. ver. ult.

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write, then it may not be concluded from thence, that any books written by the prophets are lost. Or if by *prophets* you understand the penmen of the Bible, it may be shewed, that what they foretold is still extant in their writings: for though these individual words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, are not found among the prophecies of the Old Testament, yet the purport and sense of them are there, that is, the prophets of the Old Testament did foretell in general, that Jesus Christ should be holy, and devoted to God as the Nazarenes were.

The other passage is cited in the same evangelist:

Matt. xxvii. 9, 10. *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.* This prophecy is not to be found in Jeremiah, but there is something much like it in the prophecy of Zechariah. "This passage," says Origen, "is either taken out of an apocryphal book, "called The Secrets of Jeremiah; or else, through "the fault of transcribers, the name of Jeremiah is "crept into the Gospel instead of Zechariah." But the most probable solution is, that St. Matthew having only said, *as was foretold by the prophet*, without naming any one particularly, the name of Jeremiah has since been added to the text of the Gospel: for this evangelist is observed never to have named the prophets whom he cites in his writings.

Ch. xi. xii.

In Matth. Tract. 35.

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Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

THE enemies of revealed religion, in order to destroy the authority of the scriptures, have in these latter times advanced a paradox unknown to former ages, that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; but that it was composed from some ancient records preserved among the Hebrews, which were collected by some more modern writer, and digested into that form wherein they are at present. It is not necessary we should know who was the particular penmen of these, or any other books of scripture, because their authority depends not upon the writers of them, but upon the Holy Ghost, who indited them. They are the books of God, which is their peculiar character and dignity, and that alone makes them authentic, after they have been delivered to us by the unanimous consent of the church; so that there is no absolute necessity of our knowing who penned them, to make them the objects of our faith: yet notwithstanding, the authors of many of the sacred books are well known, and particularly there are convincing proofs that Moses wrote the five books I am going to give an account of, and which are commonly called the *Pentateuch*.

It is certain, that the term *law*, in a more especial manner, agrees with the Pentateuch, and that the Jews have always called the collection of the five books of Moses, of which it is composed, by that name. If therefore it can be proved that Moses wrote the law taken in this sense, it cannot be doubted but that he was the author of the Pentateuch. It must likewise be acknowledged that the

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book which the Hebrews called *Misne Tora*, and the Greeks *Deuteronomy*, that is, *the repetition of the law*, or *another law*, supposes another written law, which agrees with that contained in the four foregoing books, so that if it be proved that Moses was the author of the Book of Deuteronomy, it will follow that the four preceding books, of which Deuteronomy is an abridgement, wherein the same laws are repeated in the same expressions, are likewise his. Now, nothing is more easy than to prove from passages of scripture, that the law and the Book of Deuteronomy are the writings of Moses.

In the thirty-first chapter of Deuteronomy it is said, that *Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests the sons of Levi, who bore the ark of the covenant of the Lord;* and that, *when he had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, he commanded the Levites—to take this law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord their God.* Now in these passages we must of necessity understand by this word *law* the whole Pentateuch, or at least the Book of Deuteronomy; for this law every king of the Hebrews was obliged, upon his accession to the throne, to write a copy of in a book, and *to read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law and of the statutes, to do them.* So that this book is said to contain all the precepts and ordinances of the Lord, as well moral as ceremonial; from whence the king was to learn what he was to put in practice. Now, whether we suppose this book included the whole law, or Deuteronomy only, it follows that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch,

Ver. 9, 24, 25, 26.

Deut. xvii. 19.

because the book of Deuteronomy supposes that the four preceding books were composed, and manifestly penned, by the same writer. CHAP. VIII.

In the reign of king Josiah, Hilkiah the priest found in the temple *the book of the law of the Lord, written by the hand of Moses;* which expression might signify the very copy itself that Moses wrote with his own hand, at least it must be confessed that this copy was one of those which were preserved in the temple by the priests. That this copy contained either the whole, or at least the book of Deuteronomy, all expositors agree, and the history itself sufficiently demonstrates. After the death of Moses, Joshua had in his custody the whole body of the laws left by that legislator. *This book of the law* (says God to Joshua) *shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all that is written therein: Be ye very courageous* (says Joshua to the Israelites) *to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses.* It was the advice of David to his son Solomon, *Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses.* In these, and many more places, mention is made of the whole law, and of all the commandments, as well those that concern morality, as the ceremonial and judicial law, that is, of all that the Jews, properly speaking, called *the law*, that is, the Pentateuch. In all those places it is said to be *the law of Moses*, that he was the author of it, and that he penned it.

2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

Joshua i. 8.

Josh. xxiii. 6.

1 Kings ii. 3.

If any objection be made against so much proba-

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bility as this; that in those early times the law of Moses was a different composition from that of the Pentateuch, yet it is certain that in the time of Ezra the law was the same with the Pentateuch, which we have at present; and this law was attributed to Moses: for it is said in the book of Ezra, that *he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given them.* And in the Book of Nehemiah it is said, that the law was read in the audience of the people, which is not only called *the law of Moses,* but it is expressly said to be the law which God gave them *by the hand of Moses.*

Chap. vii. 6.

Chap. viii.

But if this proof is to be general, it is easy to produce passages from scripture, wherein each book of the Pentateuch in particular is attributed to him, and cited under his name. This will not only prove that Moses wrote a law, but likewise that the very law which was written by Moses, is the same we have in our hands at present, since these are the very books that are cited, and in which we meet with the passages that are taken thence.

Gen. xxiv. xxix. Exod. xxiv. xxix.

Indeed, the Book of Genesis is more seldom quoted in express terms than the other four; but the whole tenor of the holy scripture supposes it, and the principal points of history which it contains, run through the whole body of the sacred writings. In the Second Book of Chronicles it is said, that Moses ordered a collection of money to be gathered, to be laid in the tabernacle, which is commanded in the Book of Exodus and Numbers. The ceremonies of the Passover, of which mention is made in the same chapter of Chronicles, and in the Book of Ezra, are taken out of Exodus and Leviticus; what is said in the

Exod. xxx. 12. Numb. i. 2.

Ezra vi.

Book of Ezra concerning the feast of Tabernacles, is taken out of Leviticus. The seventy-seventh, the hundred and fourth, the hundred and fifth, and the hundred and thirty-fifth Psalms, contain an abstract of all the history of the Pentateuch, which is manifestly taken from the Pentateuch itself. But the Book of Deuteronomy is quoted oftener than any other, because being an abridgement of all the law composed for the common use of the people, it was more natural to cite it than the rest. The beginning of this book shews that Moses was the author of it. It was common among the ancients to insert the name of the authors at the beginning of their works. That of Moses is in the first verse of the Book of Deuteronomy; *These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel.* It is said afterwards in the same chapter, *Moses began to declare this law.* This book is cited under his name in other books of holy writ; Joshua is said to have *built an altar unto the Lord in mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses.* This passage refers to Deuteronomy, wherein Moses enjoins this very thing. This passage in Deuteronomy, *The fathers shall not die for the children,* is cited in many places as taken out of the book of the law of Moses. In the book of Nehemiah it is ordered, that the Moabites and Ammonites should be separated from the congregation of God, as they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people, which is expressly enjoined in the Book of Deuteronomy, *An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord; even to the tenth generation.* It were easy to produce a number of

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Lev. xxiii.

Ver. 5.

Josh. viii. 30, 31.

Deut. xxvii. 5.

2 Kings xiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxv. 4. Neh. xiii.

Deut. xxiii. 3.

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passages to this purpose out of the Old Testament; and in the New Testament there are many laws cited under the name of Moses, which are taken out of the Book of Deuteronomy; which is sufficient to prove that Moses was the author of that book, and consequently that the other four books of the law are certainly his.

In short, it has been the constant tradition of the Jews, that the Pentateuch was the authentic work of Moses himself. The testimony of that people is entirely decisive of that point: they were the trustees and guardians of these books; they have with the utmost care, even almost to superstition, preserved them: these were their public books, which contained their religion, and their laws, by which they were governed. It is impossible that they should have taken the books of another for those of Moses; that they should have lost them which he had left them; and that they should have suffered others to be foisted into the room of them.

The opinion therefore of those who in these last times have ventured to maintain that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, has no manner of foundation, particularly that new notion of Father Simon, of certain public scribes or registers who penned this and other parts of the Old Testament; and that the Bible of the Old Testament is no more than an abbreviated collection of larger records that were kept in the Jewish archives; and that the scribes, who writ them out, took the liberty to alter words as they saw occasion. But the design of this subtle Romanist was to depreciate the Pentateuch, and other books of scripture, that so, when their authority was sufficiently weakened, we should be

obliged to rely wholly upon tradition, and found our religion, as well as the scriptures, upon that only. CHAP. IX.

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Objections against the foregoing chapter answered.

IF those who deny Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch could defend what they assert, it would prove no more than that the books of Moses have undergone the same fate that has befallen the compositions of all ancient writers, that is, that they have received some additions and changes in some words, names, and expressions, to render the narration more intelligible to those who lived in after-ages. These are usual things; and we meet with instances of them in the books of almost all the old historians, and yet no one has ever thought that their books ought to be rejected upon that account, as if they were not theirs under whose names they went. But this general reply, perhaps, may be thought not satisfactory, and therefore we shall enter upon the particular reasons that are commonly urged, and inquire into the utmost force they carry with them. Let it be premised only, that the first who raised any scruples upon this subject was rabbi Aben-Ezra, who lived in the twelfth century; and upon the authority of this Jew, the enemies of religion have laid the principal strength of their objections.

" It is said that Moses did not compose the pre-
" face of the Book of Deuteronomy, because, accord-
" ing to some translations, it begins after this man-
" ner: *These be the words which Moses spake unto*

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" *all Israel on the other side Jordan.* Now that " lawgiver never went over Jordan, and therefore " he could not speak to them on the other side." One had need to be no great critic in the Hebrew tongue to know that the word which is used in the original signifies indifferently *on this side,* or *on the other side,* according as it is applied.

" The death and burial of Moses are related in " the last chapter of Deuteronomy; Moses therefore " could not be the author of it." Philo Josephus, and other Jews, are of opinion that Moses wrote this by a spirit of prophecy: but the sounder reply is, that this narration was added either by Joshua, or by Ezra, or by the synagogue of the Jews, to render the history of the Pentateuch the more complete. But though this last chapter has been added, it cannot be concluded from thence that the rest of the Pentateuch was not written by Moses.

Gen. xii. 6. " It is observed (in a parenthesis) in the book of " Genesis, that *the Canaanite was then in the land:* " that book therefore must be written in a time " when the Canaanites were not in Palestine; other- " wise that note had been needless. Now it is cer- " tain that they were not driven out till a long time " after the death of Moses." The answer is, that those words do not signify that the Canaanites were formerly in that land, but that they were even then there, that is, that Moses, speaking of Abraham's passage through the land of Sichem, observes, that at that time the Canaanites were in that country. It was natural that Moses writing at that time, wherein it was proper to advertise the Israelites that their fathers once conversed with the Canaanites, should observe that when Abraham ar-

rived in that country he found it inhabited by that people. CHAP. IX.

"In the same book it is written, *These are the* Gen. xxxvi.
"*kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before* 31.
"*there reigned any king over the children of Is-*
"*rael;* and afterwards follow the names of eight of
"those kings of Edom, and the names of the seve-
"ral princes of the race of Esau. It is concluded
"from hence, that the author lived in the time
"when there were kings in Israel, since he denotes
"the time when the Israelites began to have kings
"by the epocha, at which those of Edom, whose
"names he sets down, ended. That the number of
"the generations of the kings of Edom is double
"that of the generations from Jacob (Esau's bro-
"ther) to Moses: in this place is a succession of
"eight kings, but from Jacob to Moses there are
"but four generations, and there are but eight from
"Jacob to Obed, the father of David. That author
"having numbered the eight kings of Edom, speaks
"of their dukes or princes: now they had no dukes
"or princes till a great while after." This passage I Chron. i.
concerning the kings of Edom is allowed by com- 51.
mentators to be somewhat difficult. Some say that
Moses spake in this place by a spirit of prophecy, of
the kings that should afterwards reign in Israel:
for God did certainly reveal to him that the Israel- Deut. xvii.
ites should have a king, as appears by the laws he 14.
delivered about the extent of their power and the
management of their authority. The eight kings of
Edom, of whom mention is made, might reign be-
tween Esau and the time of Moses, and the rather,
because they were not the sons who succeeded their
fathers in an hereditary line, but were persons of

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different countries, who seized upon the government one after another. The dukes or princes of Edom, mentioned in the same place, did not succeed those kings, but governed at the same time in different places.

Exod. xvi. 35.

"*The children of Israel,* it is recorded in Exodus, "*did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.*" Now Moses died before the forty years were expired." Moses might, notwithstanding, foresee that the manna should cease so soon as the Israelites possessed themselves of the promised land. He knew that they were to wander forty years in the wilderness; so that since they were already come to the borders of the land of Canaan, when he was about compiling this book, we ought not to wonder if he so positively expresses himself in this respect.

Numb. xiv. 33.

Deut. iii. 10, 11.

"Deuteronomy," say the objectors, "is of later date than Moses, because mention is made of Og king of Bashan: it is said that he only remained of the race of the giants; and that his bedstead of iron was still to be seen in Rabbah of the children of Ammon, being nine cubits long, and four broad. Now why should Moses speak of this bedstead, to prove the bigness of Og, in an age when all the Israelites might have seen this giant? Why was not this bedstead in Bashan, but in Rabbah of the children of Ammon? Besides, this bedstead was not discovered till the reign of David, who subdued the Ammonites, and took Rabbah." After all, there is nothing in it extraordinary, that Moses, in speaking of Og the giant, produced as a testimony of the largeness of his stature his iron bedstead,

2 Sam. xii. 29.

whether because it was some time since that king was killed, when Moses wrote this account, or rather to give the more credit to what he said about him. It is thus that the historians of our age, in speaking of any new thing that has happened extraordinary, though well known in their time, do say, "We have "such or such an evidence of the truth of what we "assert;" they keep such or such a monster in such or such a place. As to what is added, that this iron bedstead, in the time of Moses, was in Bashan and not in Rabbah, it is pure conjecture; for why could not the Ammonites have it in the days of Moses? CHAP. IX

"There are many names of cities and countries in "the Pentateuch, which were not so called till after "the time of Moses. When Moses is spoken of in "the Pentateuch, it is always in the third person; "and such things are said of him as he could not "well say of himself." As to the names of places that were not in use till after the death of Moses, it is probable that the ancient names have been changed; that the narration might be rendered the more intelligible to such as were no longer acquainted with the old names of those towns and countries. Though this be not true of all that our adversaries generally produce upon this occasion, it is customary among most historians to speak of themselves in the third person, though they had a share in the history which they relate. Xenophon, Cæsar, Josephus, and many other historians, have done this. The commendations Moses bestows upon himself are not extreme: it was proper that he should take notice in his writings of the favours he received from God; and that he should declare that he was the man, or the pro-

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phet, sent forth from God; and that he spake to them in his name. He might likewise, without any breach of modesty, call himself *the meekest of men;* to signify that it was not he who revenged himself upon those who rebelled against him, but God, who espoused his cause. What is said at the end of the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, *This is that Moses and Aaron,* is there placed, that so posterity might have the greater veneration for their persons and their history.

These, with some few others, are the common objections offered by the enemies of religion against the writings of Moses: but the opinion of Le Clerc, who has attributed the Pentateuch to an Israelitish priest sent from Babylon to instruct the Cutheans, is one of the most extravagant notions that ever could have been invented. This writer, who is a man of parts and learning, has confessed that the Samaritan Pentateuch has entirely destroyed the hypothesis of those persons who say, that the Pentateuch was composed by Ezra since the captivity. He himself proves this, because it is unconceivable that the Samaritans, the sworn enemies of the Jews, should have borrowed the law from them: and that if they had transcribed the copy of Ezra, they would rather have made use of the Chaldee than of the ancient Hebrew characters. But if it be not credible that the Samaritans would have received the law from the Jews, is it at all probable that the Jews would have received it from an Israelitish priest sent from Babylon to instruct the Cutheans? Had not the Jews of the kingdom of Judah the law of Moses before the captivity of the ten tribes? and can any one imagine (supposing that they designed to have

a collection of what related to the law of Moses, and to make a sacred and divine book, which should be the foundation of their religion) that they would have had so great a veneration for his work? This conjecture then, which Le Clerc has advanced upon the criticism of Father Simon, is as absurd and chimerical as ever has been maintained, and is such as none has espoused since him, and which himself has since renounced in his Commentary upon the Book of Genesis. CHAP. IX.

CHAP. X.

The Book of Genesis.

THE books of the Pentateuch among the Hebrews have no other title besides the word by which each book begins. The first is called *Beresith*, because it begins thus, *In the beginning:* the second, *Veelesemoth*, that is, *These are the names;* which are the first words of the Book of Exodus: the third, *Vai-cra*, that is, *He called;* which are the first words of the book. The modern Jews, however, called it *Thorat hacabim, the law of the priests:* the fourth is called *Vaiedabber*, that is, *And he spoke;* because it begins with those words: the last is called, for the same reason, *Elle-haddebarim, These are the words:* the Jews likewise call it *Thora, the law.* The Greeks and Latins have given these books such names as have a relation to the subject they treat upon: the first is called Genesis, because it begins with the history of the creation of the world.

When Moses says, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, he gives a summary ac-

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count of the whole creation; for these two words comprehend the whole visible world. Some would have the angels comprehended in the word of *heaven*, particularly Epiphanius; but others of the fathers are of a different opinion. The *first stars*, and all beyond them, (for so the word *heaven* is supposed to signify,) were first made; for they had a beginning as well as this lower world, though they do not seem to be included in the six days' work, which relates only to this planetary world, as I may call it, which has the sun for its centre. And thus Philo understood the first word *Beresith, In the beginning*, to respect the order wherein things were created. God began his creation with the heaven, and then proceeded to the earth.

Hercl. 65.

The product of the first day was twofold; the terraqueous mass, called *the earth*, and *light*. There was first created a rude, confused heap, by profane writers called *the chaos*, an indigested mass of earth and water mixed together. And hence, without doubt, was derived the opinion of Thales, and some other ancient philosophers; that water, or slime, or mud, (for they express it variously,) was the source of all beings whatsoever.

Nothing was yet to be seen for want of light, which lay buried, as all things else did, in the vast confused heap of matter before mentioned: some parts of which were fluid and light, as others were solid and heavy. These naturally sunk, which are called *the earth;* and the lighter parts got above them, and are styled *the waters*. Upon this fluid matter the Spirit of God, (supposed by the ancient Jews to be the Spirit of the Messiah,) that is, the infinite wisdom and power of God, made a mighty

fermentation to separate the parts of it one from the other; it brooded upon it as a hen does upon her eggs. From whence some have not unhappily conjectured the ancients took their notion of *a first laid egg*, out of which all things were formed, that is, the chaos, consisting of earth and water, of thicker and thinner parts, as an egg doth of yolk and white. The divine Spirit thus moved upon the waters, that by its incubation, as we may call it, it might not only separate those parts that were jumbled together, but give a vivific virtue to them, to produce what was contained in them. The spirits of all living creatures, (which we call their *active forms*,) which could not arise out of matter, for that is stupid, proceeded from this other principle, the powerful Spirit of God, which moved upon the face of the waters by a vital energy, so that they were no longer standing waters, but moving, having a certain living power in them. From whence it may be inferred, that the spirits of living creatures are distinct things from matter, which of itself cannot move at all, and much less produce a principle of motion. CHAP. X.

Now follows the formation of all things out of that rude matter that was at first created: and the first thing that was produced was light, that is, those particles of matter which we call *fire*, (whose two properties are light and heat,) which the almighty Spirit produced as the great instrument for the preparation and digestion of the rest of the matter, that was still more vigorously moved and agitated from the top to the bottom by this restless element, till the nearer and more shining parts of it, being separated from the grosser, and united in a body fit to retain them, became light. This light of fire was

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put into a circular motion, so that it moved round about the chaos in the space of twenty-four hours, which made it day to those parts where it shined, and night where it did not. A whole day in the Hebrew language is called *evening* and *morning*, which the motion of this light made, if we conceive it to have been formed about noon, and to have gone round the whole mass in twenty-four hours.

How long all things continued in mere confusion after the chaos was created, before this light was extracted out of it, we are not told; it might be, for any thing that is revealed, a great while, and all that time the mighty Spirit was making such motions in it, as prepared, disposed, and ripened every part of it, for such productions as were to appear successively in such spaces of time as are mentioned afterwards in the history of the creation. Moses informs us, that after things were so digested, and made ready, (by long fermentations, perhaps,) to be wrought into form, God produced every day, for six days together, some creature or other, till all was finished. This Maimonides has happily illustrated, by observing that all things were created at once, and then were afterwards separated one from another successively. He says, their wise men resemble this proceeding to that of a husbandman, who sows several seeds in the earth at the same moment; some of which are to come up after one day, others after two, and others not till three days be past, though the whole sowing was in one and the same moment. Thus God made all things at the first, which did not appear together, but in the space of six days were formed, and put in order one after another. Light being the work of the first day.

More Nevoch. part. ii. cap. 30.

On the second day was the lower heaven, or firmament made, called by the divine philosopher, *the expansion*, or according to the Seventy interpreters στέρεωμα, whom the English translation follows, and renders it *the firmament.* This was produced in the midst of the waters; and the design of it was to divide the waters from the waters, that is, the waters under this firmament from the waters above it. The meaning of which is, that whereas the waters at first were heaped together very high above the earth in some places, the All-wise Disposer this day began to make a separation of them, and to frame an expansion (for that is the simple and proper import of the Hebrew word) between the lower and the higher parts of the waters, so that now there was a distance between them, which was caused by an interposition of the air between these lower and higher parts of the waters. The Almighty Creator, by attenuating and rarifying, transmuted them into an aërial body, which shall always continue so, that is, shall remain really distinct from the crasser subsistence of water. Therefore this *expansum* is the whole region of air; and we cannot imagine any other outspread firmament, which divides the superior from the inferior waters, that is, the clouds from the vast body and mass of waters which at first covered the earth, and soon after were disposed of into particular receptacles, and were denominated *the seas.* But yet in a large way of speaking, this firmament is all that extended space which reaches from the earth to the place of the stars, which was made afterwards. The great objection against this proposition is, that now there were no clouds, neither had it after this rained upon the earth. But it must be considered, that nei- CHAP. X.

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ther were the waters below as yet gathered into one place. And therefore Moses here speaks of the air as a body intended to be stretched between the waters above and beneath, when they should be formed. If it be asked, why this second day's work has not the same approbation as the rest have; the reason is, not because it was not good, but because it was but an essay or specimen of the two next days' works; for the waters were but now begun to be separated, which afterwards we find finished upon the third day, and this firmament was but a beginning or preparative to the production of a higher and nobler expansion upon the fourth day.

Such large portions of matter being drawn out of the chaos, as made the body of fire and air before mentioned, there remained, in a great body, only water and earth, but they so jumbled together, that they could not be distinguished. It was the work therefore of the third day to make a separation be-

Psal. civ. 6. tween them, by compacting together all the particles which make the earth, which before was mud and dirt, and then by raising it above the waters, which covered its superficies; and lastly, by making such caverns in it, as were sufficient to receive the waters into them. Now this we may conceive to have been done by such particles of fire as were left in the bowels of the earth; whereby such nitro-sulphureous vapours were kindled as made an earthquake, which both lifted up the earth, and also made receptacles for the waters to run into; as the Psalmist (otherwise I should not venture to mention this)

Psal. civ. 7. seems to explain it: *At thy rebuke they* (that is, the waters) *fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* And so God himself speaks in the Book of

Job, *I brake up for it* (that is, for the sea) *my decreed place, and set bars and doors.* CHAP. X. Job xxxviii. 10.

This work of God (whereby the waters were sent down into their proper channels, and the earth made dry, and fitted for the habitation of such creatures as were afterwards created) is observed by Strabo, in his Geography, as an act of Divine providence; Lib. xviii. Because, says he, the water covered the earth, and man is not a creature that can live in the water, God made many cavities and receptacles in the earth for the water, and raised the earth above it, that it might be fit for man's habitation.

Moses having shewn how the first matter, and then the elements of things were produced, he proceeds to the production of more compounded bodies, and gives an account of all sorts of vegetables, which are ranged under three heads: grass, which comes up every year without sowing; herbs bearing a seed, which comprehends (as Abarbanel notes) all sorts of corn, and whatsoever is sown; and trees, which also bear fruit. These all sprung up in their perfection in the space of a day, with their seeds in them completely formed, to produce the like throughout all generations. Thus was finished the work of the third day.

The next day was employed in creating of an ethereal heaven, or firmament, and furnishing it with glorious lights. As the former firmament or expanse was the space between the earth and ether, so this is that vast extension which comprehends the ether, and all the luminaries placed in it, and whatever is above it. The generality of expositors make the other firmament and this the same; and think that the firmament here spoken of is not mentioned

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as the product of this day's creation, but that only here is a new mentioning of the preceding one. But this mistake, it is supposed, has run them into great absurdities, particularly has made them unable to give any tolerable account of *the waters under the firmament*, from those *above* it: it has therefore been thought proper to distinguish between the firmament of *air* and that of *ether*, that is, that wherein the clouds and meteors are, and that other which contains the luminaries of heaven: and it may be observed, that this, in contradiction to the former, is signally styled thrice *the firmament of heaven*. This celestial expanse being fixed, the next work was to garnish and adorn it: to which purpose the light made the first day, having for three days circulated about the earth, and that near to it, to further the production of things above mentioned, was refined and distributed into certain particular orbs, or spheres, or vortexes, and gathered into the bodies of several luminaries at a great distance from the earth, called *the sun*, *the moon*, and *stars*. Their use was to divide the day from the night by a continued circular motion, finished in four and twenty hours; in one part of which, by the presence of the sun, the day is made, and in the other part, by the sun's absence, night is made in a constant succession. This concluded the fourth day.

Gen. i. 14, 15, 17.

Upon the fifth day, the inhabitants of the seas and of the lower heaven were formed out of the waters, that is, out of such matter as was mixed with the waters, which contained in them many things besides simple water; for the sea and rivers are still very richly furnished with various com-

pounds for the nourishment of an innumerable mul- CHAP. X.
titude of fishes. Though the cheering and warming light, before it was embodied and gathered together into certain receptacles, was instrumental by the divine power to produce vegetables, yet it was not vigorous enough to beget the animal life. But now this noble and cherishing virtue being mightily agitated and fermented, and being more advantageously fixed, we find the effect of it in the production of fish and feathered animals upon the fifth day.

Upon the sixth and last day the earth brought forth all kinds of beasts and cattle, that is, all terrestrial animals, (as on the foregoing day all animals belonging to the sea and rivers, and to the air, were created). Thus by a gradual process the divine power produced creatures still more noble, the matter being more digested and prepared in five days' time, than it was at first. Man was reserved by God for the last of his works, who does, as it were, advise and consult about his production, *Let us make man in* Gen. i. 26.
our image. Not to signify any deliberation within himself, or any difficulty in the work, but to represent the dignity of man, and that he was made (as Abarbanel glosses) with admirable wisdom and great prudence: for though he was raised out of the dust of the ground, yet a greater power and skill was employed in producing a creature of such excellent majesty and beauty, that nearly approached the divine likeness in understanding, in freedom of choice, in immortality, and other perfections of the divine nature.

This is the substance of the Mosaic philosophy concerning the creation of the world; from whence the first book of the Pentateuch has the name of

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Genesis; and it were easy to shew, upon true principles of reason, that it is more consistent than any philosophical hypotheses of another strain, and more congruous to the laws of motion, and the operations of nature, than the vain and affected schemes of any theorist or archeologist in the world. This book, besides the history of the creation, contains an account of the original innocence and fall of man; the propagation of mankind; the rise of religion, and of the church of God; the invention of arts; the general defection and corruption of the world; the deluge; the restoration of the world; the certain distinction of times before the flood, and partly after it; the confusion of tongues, and thereupon the division of the earth among the sons of men; the plantation of families; the originals of nations and kingdoms, as the Assyrian monarchy, (begun in Nimrod, or Belus,) and the Egyptian dynasty: the history of the first patriarchs, not only before, but after the deluge, as of Noah, the preacher of righteousness; of Abraham, the father of the faithful; of Isaac, the seed in which all nations were to be blessed; of Jacob, the father of the twelve tribes; of Joseph, whose memorable actions are here fully recorded, and with which this first book of Moses ends, containing an account of about two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine years, according to the calculation of years of the patriarchs, as it is in the Hebrew text. It was easy for Moses to be satisfied in the truth of what he related, because it came down to his time but through a very few hands: for from Adam to Noah there was one man (Methuselah) who lived to see them both: and so it was from Noah to Abraham, Shem conversed with

both; as Isaac did with Abraham and Joseph; from whom these things might easily be conveyed to Moses by Amram, who lived long enough with Joseph. In short, Moses might have been confuted if he had written any thing but the truth, by learned men of other nations, who sprang from the same root, and had the same means of being acquainted with the great things here reported by tradition, from their forefathers, who lived so long in the beginning of the world, that they were able, with the greater certainty, to transmit the relation of things to their posterity. CHAP. X.

CHAP. XI.

The Book of Exodus.

THIS book receives its name from the principal subject of it, which is the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt; (for so the Greek word ἔξοδος signifies *going out*, or *departing* from one place to another.) It contains a history of about a hundred forty and five years, (some make it two or three years less,) from the death of Joseph to the building of the tabernacle; for it treats of several things which went before their departure, and which followed after it, but they all relate to it, and depend upon it.

The tyranny of Pharaoh, and the bondage of the Israelites under him in Egypt, and their wonderful deliverance from it, are recorded in this book. More particularly are related the prodigious increase and multiplying of these oppressed Hebrews, which were the posterity of Jacob; the plagues inflicted upon

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the Egyptian king and his people, because he refused to dismiss them; their departure thence without his leave, though not without the consent and desire of his subjects; their miraculous passing through the Red sea, or Arabian gulf; the overthrow of Pharaoh and his numerous host; the miraculous securing and protecting of the Israelites in the Arabian deserts; the strange miracles wrought for the sustaining and preserving of them; the promulging of the law to them on mount Sinai, which consisted of moral precepts, civil or judicial constitutions, and ceremonial rites, for the celebrating and performing of which a tabernacle was erected (as rich and magnificent as their circumstances would permit) by the particular appointment and direction of God. In short, this book represents the church of God afflicted and persecuted; it shews that he is pleased to suffer it to be reduced to the greatest straits and calamities; and that even then he guards it by his providence, and in good time delivers it.

CHAP. XII.

The Book of Leviticus.

THE Greeks and Latins give this book the name of Leviticus, not because it treats of the ministry of the Levites, properly so called, (of which the Book of Numbers gives a fuller account than this book does,) but because it contains the laws about the religion of the Jews; consisting principally in various sacrifices, the charge of which was committed to Aaron the Levite, and to his sons, who alone had the office of priesthood in the tribe of Levi,

Exod. iv. 14.

which the apostle therefore calls *a Levitical priesthood.* CHAP. XII. Heb. vii. 11.

Leviticus gives an account of the Jewish service and worship; of the particular employments and charges of the ministers of that church; of their several kinds of sacrifices and oblations (burnt offerings, meat offerings, peace offerings, sin offerings, trespass offerings); of the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; of laws about clean and unclean things; of difference of meats. Here they are forbidden to eat blood; they are taught how to discern the leprosy, and how to cleanse it. Here are laws concerning vows and things, and persons devoted. There are also other ordinances and injunctions concerning their solemn feasts, (the sabbath of the seventh year, the Passover, the feasts of Firstfruits, of Pentecost, of Trumpets, of Expiation, of Tabernacles,) and many the like usages and rites, which were strictly commanded this people, on purpose to keep them from the idolatrous and superstitious ceremonies of the Gentiles that were round about them, and would be enticing them to imitate their practice. There is likewise a great number of judicial laws, as concerning the year of jubilee, about the redemption of lands and houses; against taking of usury of the poor; as also concerning servants and bondmen. Here are laws touching affinity and consanguinity; and consequently what marriages are lawful, and what unlawful, may thence be inferred; and many other things relating to the civil law of the Jews. Here are inserted several moral instructions, and excellent precepts of natural religion, respecting both God and men. Lastly, towards the close of all, there are blessings and curses pro-

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nounced; the former to such as carefully observe these laws, the latter on those that wilfully disobey them. These are the admirable things contained in this book, and which have been the acceptable entertainment of the inquisitive and religious, of the wise and good, in all ages since they have been extant.

CHAP. XIII.

The Book of Numbers.

Numb. i. 3, 4.

THE fourth book of the Pentateuch is called Numbers, and receives its denomination from the numbering of the families of Israel. Moses and Aaron had a special command from God to muster the tribes, and to take the number of all that were fit for war, and to order and marshal the army when it was once formed. For now in their passage through the wilderness they were like to meet with many enemies; and therefore it was convenient to take an account of their forces, and to put themselves into a posture ready to engage. A great part of this book is historical, relating several remarkable passages in the Israelites' march through the wilderness; as, the sedition of Aaron and Miriam; the rebellion of Corah and his companions; the murmurings of the whole body of the people; their being plagued with serpents; Balaam's prophesying of the happiness of Israel, instead of cursing them; the miraculous budding of Aaron's rod. Here are also distinctly related their several removings from place to place; their two and forty stages or journeys through the wilderness; and many other things which befell them: whereby we are instructed and

confirmed in some of the weightiest truths, that have immediate reference to God and his providence in the world. But the greatest part of this book is spent in enumerating those laws and ordinances (whether ceremonial or civil) which were given by God, and were not mentioned before in the preceding books; as, some particulars of the Levites' office, and the number of them; the trial of jealousy; the rites to be observed by the Nazarites; the renewing of the Passover; the making of fringes on the borders of their garments; the water of separation to be used in purifying the unclean; the law of inheritance; of vows; of the cities of refuge; of the cities of the Levites; and some other constitutions, either not inserted into the other books of Moses, or not distinctly and plainly set down. Thus this book, both in respect of the historical part of it, and of the addition of laws, (not spoken of in the foregoing books,) has its peculiar use and excellency.

It comprehends the history of about thirty-eight years, though most part of the things related in it fell out in the first and last of these years; and it does not appear when those things were done which are related in the middle of the book.

CHAP. XIV.

The Book of Deuteronomy.

DEUTERONOMY (which signifies a *second law*) had the name given it by the Greeks, from the principal scope and design of it, which was a *repetition of the laws* already delivered. This seems to have been of absolute use, because the Israelites who

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heard it before, died in the wilderness; and there being now sprung up another generation of men, the law was to be promulged to them. The major part of the people that were living at that time, had not heard the Decalogue, or any other of the laws openly proclaimed, or being young they had neglected or forgot them; which is the reason why Moses in this work rehearses them to his new people, and withal adds an explication of them in many places, and adjoins some new laws; such as the taking down of malefactors from the tree in the evening; the making of battlements on the roofs of their houses; the expiation of an unknown murder; the punishment to be inflicted upon a rebellious son; the distinction of the sexes by apparel; the marrying the brother's wife after his decease: also orders and injunctions concerning divorce: concerning man-stealers; concerning unjust weights and measures; concerning the marrying of a captive-woman; concerning the servant that deserts his master's service; and several other laws, not only ecclesiastical and civil, but also military. There are likewise inserted some new actions and passages, which happened in the last year of their travels in the wilderness.

Moreover, Moses, in this part of the Pentateuch, shews himself a true father, pastor, and guide to that people, a hearty lover of them and their welfare, in many instances; in his often inculcating upon them their many obligations which they lay under from God, the innumerable favours they had received from him; in his frequent and pathetic exhortations to obedience, and living answerably to the singular mercies which were conferred upon them; in his constant reminding them of their former miscar-

riages, their murmurings and rebellions against Heaven, and all their unworthy deportment towards their great Benefactor; in his compassionate forewarning them of the judgments of God; of the various plagues and punishments which would certainly be the consequence of their persisting in their sins: lastly, in his affectionate encouraging them to obedience, from the consideration of the endearing promises which God had made to them, and which he would assuredly make good, if they did not frustrate his designs of mercy towards them by their wilful stubbornness and ingratitude. These are the excellent subjects of this divine book. CHAP. XIV.

The learned, who have commented upon the Pentateuch, are under great uncertainties when those books were composed by Moses. Some pretend that Moses wrote the Book of Genesis before he departed out of Egypt; but it is more probable, that he composed it afterwards, and since the promulgation of the law. This is the opinion of Eusebius, and many of the ancients. It is supposed likewise, that the author of Genesis had regard to the injunctions of the law, especially when he speaks concerning the sanctification of the sabbath, and of clean and unclean beasts; though they might be in use before the law was delivered, yet it is probable, that an author who makes these remarks, had seen them in the established body of the laws. Genesis may well be conceived to be the first book of Moses; and it is certain that Deuteronomy was his last: for besides it being *a repetition of the law*, it is expressly said in that book, that *Moses spake these things to the people of Israel, when they were ready to go over Jordan.* To which it may be added, that in it is

Præp. Evang. lib. vii.

Gen. vii. & viii.

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related the end of his life, and to it is annexed the relation of his death. It was therefore penned in the fortieth year after the coming out of Egypt, and in the last of the life of Moses.

CHAP. XV.

The Book of Joshua.

MEN of learning are divided in their opinions about the author of the Book of Joshua; and, indeed, it is impossible to assert with the same certainty by whom the other books of the Bible were written, as that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. The title is not supposed to stand at the head of this book to denote its author, but to shew the subject-matter of it, because it contains the history of the wars and affairs that happened under the administration of Joshua. Some have conceived that the twenty-sixth verse of the last chapter of this book is an evidence that Joshua was the author of it. The words are, *Joshua wrote all these things in the book of the law of the Lord;* which seem naturally to infer, as if they were to be understood of the whole history of this book, and to denote that he wrote in imitation of Moses what occurred during his government; that he added this history to the book of the law, and caused it to be written upon the copy of the law, which was kept on the side of the ark. But this may only be referred to what was said in this chapter, concerning the covenant that the people made with God: for there it is related, that Joshua before his death assembled the Israelites at Shechem; and that after he had declared to them

what the Lord had done for their fathers and them, ever since Abraham had left Mesopotamia, he asked them, whether they would continue to serve the Lord their God: that they promised to do so: that he remonstrated to them, that if they fell off from his laws, he would punish them severely: that they again solemnly engaged themselves to serve none other beside the Lord: that there Joshua called them to witness according to their promise, made a new covenant with them, gave them fresh laws and ordinances, and wrote all these words in the book of the law. This seems more naturally to be meant of the covenant which he renewed with the Israelites, and of the precepts he proposed to them to observe, than of the Book of Joshua.

Some offer, what is said concerning Joshua in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, that *he was the successor of Moses in prophecies*, to shew that he, as well as his predecessor, wrote a sacred book. But this expression is no proof of it, and only supposes that he succeeded Moses in the spirit of prophecy. Besides, it cannot be questioned but that in the time when the author of Ecclesiasticus wrote, that book of Joshua was already composed, since it appears that it was written even before the Book of the Kings; for in that book, where mention is made of the rebuilding of Jericho by Hiel the Bethelite, it is said, that *he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his eldest son, and set up the gates*, after it was finished, *in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun.* Now this curse against him that should rebuild the city of Jericho is found in the same words in the Book of Joshua: *And Joshua sware at that time,*

Ch. xlvi. 1.

1 Kings xvi. 34.

Josh. vi. 26.

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saying, Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his younger son shall he set up the gates of it. The antiquity therefore of this book is not to be questioned, but the matter unadjusted is, whether Joshua were the author of it.

The ancient Talmudists, and many of a latter date, ascribe this book to Joshua; for thus they speak expressly, "Joshua wrote his own book, and the "eight last verses of the law:" and then concerning the five last verses of this book, they write after this manner, in the same place; "Eleazar wrote the "twenty-ninth verse, &c. of the twenty-fourth chap-"ter, as Phineas did verse the thirty-third." And there are men of excellent learning who have undertaken to answer all that can be objected to this, particularly the great Huetius. The Jews reckon Joshua among the first prophets, as they call them, though the book contains only a history of what passed till his death. This, in all likelihood, he would not neglect to write himself, as Moses did, of what passed in his time, that every tribe and every family might have an unquestionable title to their inheritance under his own hand, who had by God's order made a division of the land; and that all posterity might see that the promises made to them by Moses were punctually fulfilled, and that in a very short time; for this book contains the history of the Israelites from the death of Moses to the death of Joshua, which was no more, say some, than seventeen, though others call it near twenty-seven years.

Bava Bathra. cap. 1.

Some of the ancients, and many modern writers, deny that Joshua was the author of this book. Theo-

doret affirms, that this volume was collected a long time after the death of Joshua, and that it was but an abstract of an ancient commentary, called, *The Book of Just Men;* which is spoken of in the tenth chapter of the said Book of Joshua. Massius, who has writ a learned commentary upon this history, explaining the tenth chapter, has taken pains to shew that what is related in the Book of Joshua could not be his. Abarbanel wholly rejects the opinion of his ancient doctors, who have in the Talmud attributed to Joshua the book that bears his name; and he offers to prove the contrary by many actions and ways of speech, which could not proceed from him; as when it is said, *that the twelve stones that Joshua set up in the midst of Jordan remain to this day:* and in another part, *This place is called Gilgal to this day:* from whence it is concluded, that one part of this book was writ some time after these things happened. Moreover, the history of the division of the sons of Dan, who took the city of Leshem, happened not likewise till after the death of Joshua. Massius conjectures, that it has been added to the collection of Joshua, that the place where the Danites were fixed might be better known.

CHAP. XV. Quest. 14.

Josh. iv. 9.

Josh. xix. 47.

In answer to this it may be said; that the additions made to the Book of Joshua are foreign to the subject; that they interrupt the series of the narration, and may be taken away without spoiling the sense; so that they did not originally belong to the history. And it may be concluded, upon the whole, that though it be not so certain that the Book of Joshua is as evidently his, as the Pentateuch was written by Moses, because there is a great deal of

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difference between the reasons which prove Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch and those which may make us suppose that Joshua is the author of the book that contains his history; yet there is no convincing proof that he is not the author of it, and so one ought neither to affirm or deny it, as being a matter we are not positively assured of, either on one side or other.

The Hebrews, as well as the Greeks and Latins, have distinguished this book by the title of *Joshua*, which the moderns pronounce, according to the new punctuation, *Jesus*. He was the son of Nun, or Nave, according to the Greeks, and of the tribe of Ephraim. He was first called *Oshea*, but Moses changed his name to *Jehoshua*. These two names do not differ much in signification, both being derived from the same root, which signifies *saviour:* but *Oshea* signifies only *saviour*, whereas *Jehoshua* or *Joshua* denotes *the saviour of the Lord*, or the person by whom the Lord designed to save his people. He was appointed by God in the lifetime of Moses to be his successor; and after his death he put himself at the head of the people, passed over Jordan, and subdued the country of the Canaanites, after he had cut off most of the inhabitants with the sword. He afterwards divided his conquests among the tribes who were to dwell on that side Jordan, and enjoyed for some time the sweets of that peace and tranquillity which he had purchased by his good conduct: but finding his death to be approaching, he assembled the people, and after he had renewed the covenant of God with them, he died at a hundred and ten years of age. These matters make up the subject of the history of the Book of Joshua, which may be

Numb. xiii. 16.

divided into three parts: the first is a history of the conquest of the land of Canaan; the second, which begins at the twelfth chapter, is a description of that country, and the division of it among the tribes; the third, comprised in the two last chapters, contains the renewal of the covenant he caused the Israelites to make, and the death of that victorious governor.

CHAP. XVI.

The Book of Judges.

THIS book is called by the name of *Shophetim*, or *Judges*, because it relates the state of the Israelites in the land of Canaan under the administration of many illustrious persons, raised by God upon special occasions, after the death of Joshua, till the time of making a king, to *judge*, that is, to rule the people, and to deliver them from their oppressions. These judges were men of heroic spirits, chosen by God out of the several tribes to govern the people, and to deliver them from their present dangers. In the time of this peculiar polity there were several notable occurrences, which are faithfully recorded in this book. Here we are acquainted with the gross impiety of that new generation which came up after the death of Joshua: here are recorded, to their perpetual infamy, their intimate converse with those idolatrous people that were left remaining in that land; their approving of their superstitious and irreligious customs, and paying adoration to their gods. Here is a particular account of the corruption of their manners, of their profane and scandalous practices, which occasioned the very heathens

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to open their mouths against them, and to blaspheme God, by whose name they were called. Here also we have a short view of the different dispensations of Heaven towards this people; sometimes relieving and delivering them; at other times most severely chastising them, and causing them to groan under tyrants and oppressors. In this history are contained most admirable examples of God's displeasure against apostates, and such as revolt from the true religion. And here are, on the contrary, as memorable instances of his rewarding those that adhere to him and his cause, and hold fast their integrity in the worst and most calamitous times. Here are also most amply displayed, his love and care of his church, in stirring up so many eminent worthies and champions to fight for her, and to push them on by no less than an extraordinary impulse of spirit to enterprise and effect such mighty things for the welfare of his chosen servants.

The Book of Judges is usually divided into two parts: the one, containing the history of the judges, from Othniel to Samson, which ends with the sixteenth chapter; (the history of the two last judges, Eli and Samuel, being not recorded here, but in the book following;) the other, containing several memorable actions which were performed in or about the time of the judges; with which the holy writer would not interrupt their history, but reserved them to be related by themselves in the conclusion, that is, in the seventeenth and the following chapters, unto the end of the book.

The author of this book is wholly unknown: some ascribe it to Samuel, herein following the doctrine of the Talmud; others to Hezekiah; and

many to Ezra. Aben-Ezra believes that this book is the *book of the wars of the Lord*, of which mention is made in the Book of Numbers. Some again conceive that every judge wrote his own memoirs, which were collected together by Ezra or Samuel. Those are all of them conjectures, of which some are manifestly false, and others very uncertain. The time when this book was composed is reasonably thought to be about the beginning of monarchical government among the Jews; for it appears from the author, in many places, that the things that he relates happened *when there was no king in Israel.* It is not natural for an author to make this remark, who writes before there have been any kings in a country; but it occurs very naturally to the thoughts of a man who writes in a time when his country is governed by a regal power; since those for whom he writes were accustomed to this form of government, in making his remarks on what he relates, that it is not agreeable to a state of monarchy, he thinks it proper to advertise that monarchy was not then established. This conjecture has a great deal of probability in it, and may serve to fix the epocha, when this book was written, to the time when the Israelites had a king. But this ought to be in the first rise of that kind of government, and before the reign of king David; for it appears from the first chapter of the Book of Judges, that the Jebusites were still in Jerusalem in this author's time. Thus it is said, *The children of Benjamin did not cast out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; therefore the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin until this day.* Now it is evident, that the Jebusites were destroyed under the reign of Saul, or

Judg. xvii. 6. Chap. xviii. 1. & 31.

Ver. 21.

2 Sam. v. 6.

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in the beginning of that of David; and this observation suits well with the opinion of the Jews who ascribe this book to Samuel.

The Book of Judges contains the history of the Israelites from the death of Joshua to that of Samson. Chronologers are not agreed about the number of years, because of the different methods they take in reckoning the years of the people's servitude recorded in this book. Some confound them with the years of the judges; and others, taking another way of explaining what is said of them, reduce the whole history of this book to about three hundred years, which, according to the literal and natural explication of the text, ought to be above four hundred years. There are other chronologers who increase this account by supposing several anarchies, whose continuance is not recorded in the history.

CHAP. XVII.

The Book of Ruth.

THIS history is an appendix to that of the Judges, and a manuduction to that of Samuel, and therefore it is properly placed between them. It has its title from the person whose story is here principally related. The Jews make but one book of this and that of the Judges, and probably the same person was the author of both. It was certainly written at a time when the government by judges was ceased, since the author of it begins with observing, that the fact came to pass in the days when the judges ruled. And he ends his book with a genealogy, which he carries down to David. Pro-

bably it was composed in that king's time, and perhaps before he was advanced to the throne.

This book records, that there was a famine in Canaan, and that Elimelech and his wife Naomi, and their sons, went into the land of Moab, and there these latter were married, one to Ruth, and the other to Orphah. After ten years were expired, Elimelech and his sons died; whereupon Naomi and her daughter-in-law Ruth (for the other daughter stayed behind) returned to their own country, and coming to Bethlehem, were kindly received by Boaz their kinsman. The particulars of this kind reception and entertainment are related; and the event was, that he married Ruth, who bare to him Obed, who was the grandfather of David. In this history is remarkable the merciful providence of God towards the afflicted, the widows, and the fatherless; the reward of constancy and obedience; and the blessing of Heaven upon those who fear God, and trust in him. Besides, here are observable the ancient rights of kinsmen and of redemption; and the manner of buying the inheritance of the deceased; with other particulars of great note and antiquity.

It is difficult to determine under what judge the history of Ruth happened: some place it in the government of Ehud, or Shamgar; and others about the beginning of the time when Eli judged Israel.

CHAP. XVIII.

The First and Second Book of Samuel.

THE books which we call the First and Second Book of Samuel, are called *Reigns* in the Greek

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version, and in the vulgar Latin *Kings*, but in the Hebrew they are styled, *The Books of Samuel*, which has given occasion commonly to ascribe them to that prophet: but since the first four and twenty chapters contain all that relate to the history of Samuel, and that the latter part of the first book, and all the second, include the relation of events which happened after the death of that prophet, it has been supposed that he was the author of the first four and twenty chapters, and that the prophets Gad and Nathan finished this work. This is the opinion of the Talmudists, which they found upon this text of scripture; *Now the acts of David, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.* By this passage it is evident that Samuel did write a book, and it contained some of the acts of David, which are these, it is probable, which are found in this first book. Besides which, there were two other books, written by two other prophets, who continued the history of that prince to the end of his life. It must be confessed that three distinct books are mentioned in that place of the Chronicles, and we cannot be sure that we have in those two books all that was contained in those three, but only an extract of the substance of them, which, perhaps, might be made by some following prophet, and divided into two books, that were called by the name of Samuel, because he was the most eminent person of the three, and his acts are here recorded in the first place. It is certain that this work was extant before the Book of the Kings was written, for mention is there made of what we read in this history: and in the Book of

1 Chron. xxix. 29.

1 Kings ii. 27.

the Chronicles several things are repeated which we find here in the very same words. It is highly probable also, that Samuel, having undertaken to write the history of the judges, (to which, as an appendix, he added the Book of Ruth,) would not leave it imperfect, but added in this book what concerned Eli and himself, who were the last judges of that nation. Many fathers of the Christian church have observed, that the Four Books of the Kings are only an historical abridgement of several books or memoirs of the prophets, which are cited in several places of them; and Grotius ascribes this abridgement to the prophet Jeremiah, others to Isaiah, and most to Ezra.

The First Book of Samuel, or of the Four Books of Kings, comprehends the transactions under the government of Eli and Samuel, and under Saul the first king; as also the acts of David whilst he lived under Saul, and is supposed to include the space of about an hundred and one years. Here is a narrative of the change of judges into kings; of the republic into a monarchy; and of the great and many evils which they suffered as consequent upon it: we have here an account of the deposition of their new king, for his rash and profane sacrificing, and his wilful disobedience to the commands of God; concerning the destruction of the Amalekites; his treachery to David, and cruel pursuits of him; and lastly, the tragical death of himself and his son Jonathan on mount Gilboa.

The Second Book contains an account of about forty years, and is wholly spent in the history of king David's reign, that is, his acts after the death of Saul. These are either his military exploits; his

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troublesome and dangerous, and sometimes successful enterprises in war; or his political acts expressed in the wise administration of civil government; or his ecclesiastical and religious undertakings, which respect the church of God in those days. With these are mixed the great failings and miscarriages of that king, (which are as particularly recorded as his other acts,) and as a consequent of them the many disappointments and distresses he met with, the various judgments and plagues that were inflicted upon him and his people by God, as a present punishment, and as an example to after-ages.

CHAP. XIX.

The Books of the Kings.

THESE books contain the history of the kings of Israel and Judah, from the beginning of Solomon's reign down to the captivity of Babylon, for the space of near six hundred years, taking into the account the history of the two foregoing books. It is probable that they were composed by Ezra, who extracted them out of the public records which were kept of what passed in that nation, as we read of the Book of the Acts of Solomon; and frequently of the Book of the Kings of Israel, and the Kings of Judah, and of the Book of Jehu, in which were written the acts of Jehoshaphat. And Isaiah, we find, wrote the acts of Uzziah, first and last; out of which, and such like books, it is supposed that Ezra compiled this short history.

1 Kings xi. 41.

The First Book of the Kings contains the latter part of the life of David, and his death; the glory

and prosperity of that nation under Solomon who succeeded him; his erecting and consecrating of the temple at Jerusalem; his scandalous defection from the true religion; the sudden decay of the Jewish nation after his death, when it was divided into two kingdoms under Rehoboam, who reigned over the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and under Jeroboam, who was king over the other ten tribes that revolted from the house of David. The rest of this history is spent in relating the acts of four kings of Judah, and eight of Israel.

The Second Book, which is a continuation of the history of the kings, is a relation of the memorable acts of sixteen kings of Judah, and twelve of Israel: and the end of both kingdoms by the carrying of the ten tribes captive into Assyria by Shalmaneser, and the other two into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, the just rewards of the idolatry and impenitence of a wicked and abandoned people.

CHAP. XX.

The Books of the Chronicles.

THOUGH it be uncertain whether the books of the Kings or the Chronicles (I speak as to the main body of the books, not one particular passage, as that in the close of the Second Book of Chronicles, where mention is made of the deliverance of the Jews by Cyrus, which might be added afterwards) were written first; for the Book of Kings refers to the Book of Chronicles, and this again sends the reader to that; yet it is evident, that this of the Chronicles is more full and comprehensive some-

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times than that of the Kings; what was left out, or not fully set down in the one, is supplied in the other. And from thence these books are called Paralipomena, Remains, Supplements, Additions, by the Greek Interpreters, because they contain some circumstances that were omitted in the other historical books.

The Hebrews made but one book of the Books of the Chronicles, under the title of *Dibre-Haiamim, The Sayings of Actions, of Days, or Years*, that is, journals or annals, either because the order of time is therein more exactly observed, or else because they were taken out of the records, journals, or annals of history. It is for the first reason, that St. Jerome calls them *chronicles;* by which he means an abridged history, wherein matters of fact are briefly related, and the time carefully set down. Ezra is generally believed to have been the author of these books. It is certain they were written after the end of the Babylonish captivity, and the first year of the reign of Cyrus, of whom mention is made in the last chapter of the second book. The last words of that chapter concerning Cyrus are the very same with those at the beginning of the first Book of Ezra, and the genealogies which are in the first chapters of the First Book of Chronicles are conformable to those which are in the second, eighth, and tenth chapters of the Book of Ezra. This may be an inducement to believe that they were written by the same author.

1 Chron. iii. 19.

It must be confessed there is one passage which seems to prove that these books are more modern: it is the genealogy of the posterity of Zerubbabel, which seems to be carried down much lower than

the time of Ezra: but possibly some of those descendants were added. Besides, it is not certain that the posterity of Zerubbabel, mentioned in that place, did all of them descend in a right line from father to son, and that there were none of them collateral. There are many texts in these books which prove that they were transcribed word for word from the histories and records made in the time when the temple stood, and when the Jews were in possession of that country, particularly that where it is said, that *the ark remained in the temple unto this day.* 2 Chron. v. 9.

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The Paralipomena, or Chronicles, are an abridgement of all the sacred history, from the beginning of the Jewish nation to their first return from the captivity, taken out of the books of the Bible which we have, and out of other annals which the author had by him in his time. The design of the writer was to represent to the Jews the series of their history, which might have been worn out of their memory during their captivity, and so to put them in mind of their original. The first book relates the rise and propagation of the people of Israel from Adam, (which is the entire subject of the first nine chapters, that consist wholly of genealogies,) and then afterwards most punctually and accurately gives an account of the reign of David. The second book as faithfully sets down the progress and end of the kingdom of Judah, even to the year of their return from the captivity in Babylon. The judgment which St. Jerome passes upon this work is this, "The Book of the Chronicles, which is as "it were an abridgement of the Old Testament, is "so considerable, that it is a folly to pretend to

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" have any knowledge of the sacred scripture with-
" out it; for in almost all the places thereof, we
" meet with circumstances omitted in the Books of
" Kings, and an infinite number of questions upon
" the gospel explained." However, there are manifest contradictions between the chronology of these books, and that of the Book of Kings, which it is very difficult, though not impossible, to reconcile.

These books of Chronicles, together with those of the Kings and Samuel, make up the best and choicest history in the world. Here we are abundantly furnished with such useful notices, truths, and maxims as these, all confirmed by great and illustrious examples, and such instances as are certain and unquestionable: crowned heads are surrounded with cares, and seldom find rest and repose; though their lives are more splendid, yet they are not less calamitous than those of the common people: good kings are rare, and the number of them is inconsiderable, in comparison of those that are bad: the best kings have their faults, and some of them of a very scandalous nature: there is little piety in the courts of princes, and as little integrity and honesty: the people are easily seduced to follow the examples of their governors, and religion and manners vary too often according to the wills of superiors: good kings are the greatest blessings, and wicked ones are the greatest curse to a nation: princes mistake their measures, when they either disobey God, or oppress their people: tyrannical princes procure their own ruin: the sins and vices of rulers prove fatal to their subjects: public enormities are punished with public and national calamities: kings may be known by the ministers they choose and make use of: those

counsels that are founded in religion are most successful: evil counsellors contrive their own destruction: wars are the effect and consequence of fighting against God: the success of arms depends upon the Divine blessing: the church is never more shocked than under bad princes: divisions and rents about religion have immediate influence upon secular affairs; and when the church is divided, the state is so too: the revolutions in both are by the particular disposal of the wise Overruler of the world: true piety and religion are attended with earthly rewards and blessings, and the contrary brings down the greatest plagues, even in this world: the worst times afford some of the best, and most holy, religious, and zealous men: whatever changes and revolutions happen in the kingdoms of the earth, the church of God remains secure; and though there are great and frequent defections, yet there never is a total extinction of it. With many other propositions and maxims of the same nature, which are of great service to princes and subjects, and are to be deduced from these excellent histories.

CHAP. XXI.

The Book of Ezra.

THE two books of Ezra and Nehemiah were formerly by the Hebrews reckoned to be only one; and this is the reason why they both are inscribed under Ezra's name in the Latin Bibles, though they originally belonged to distinct authors. Ezra was always looked upon as the writer of the first of these books, and indeed in many places he speaks of him-

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self in the first person. But some are of opinion, that the six first chapters belong to a more ancient author; and the reason they give is, that the writer of these chapters was at Jerusalem in the time of Darius the son of Hystaspis, as appears by the expression in the fifth chapter, where speaking of the answers which the Jews, in the reign of Darius, returned to the governors of Syria, who would have prevented the rebuilding of Jerusalem, he says in
Ver. 4. the first person, *Then said we unto them after this manner;* which supposes that he was then at Jerusalem. Now Ezra did not come thither till under the government of Artaxerxes, as appears by the beginning of the seventh chapter. This is the foundation of that conjecture, which seems to be ill supported. For when Ezra wrote, *We said unto them after this manner*, he speaks in the name of the Jews; and it is usual for historians of a country to speak thus in the first person in the name of their own nation, and to say, for instance, "We declared "war;" "We made a peace;" "We took that city;" although the historian had no share in all those events.

This Book of Ezra was written in the latter end of the author's life, and contains an account of about eighty, though some say near a hundred years. It includes the history of the Jews, from the time that Cyrus made the edict for their return, until the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The return of the Jews from Babylon seems to have been at two several times: the first in the days of Cyrus, the first Persian monarch, under the conduct of Zerubbabel their captain, and Jeshua their high priest. In this book are recorded the number of those that

returned; Cyrus's proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple; the laying of the foundations of it; the retarding of the work under the reign of two of the kings of Persia; at last, the finishing of the temple in the reign of Darius. The second return of the Jews was under the reign of Artaxerxes, under the conduct of Ezra, who obtained from that prince and his seven chief counsellors an ample commission to return to Jerusalem with all of his nation that were willing to follow him, and received full authority to restore and settle the state; to reform the church of the Jews; and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary privilege it is supposed was obtained at the solicitation of Esther, who was at that time the most beloved of all the king's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of queen. CHAP. XXI.

This Ezra was of the descendants of Seraiah the high priest, who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar when he burnt the temple and city of Jerusalem. That he was the immediate son of Seraiah is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this Seraiah, he must now have been a hundred and thirty-two; and yet we find him alive in the time of Nehemiah fifteen years after, when, according to this account, he must have been a hundred and forty-seven years old, though he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole forenoon together to all the people of the Jews, which is a thing wholly improbable in those days; and therefore, where he is said to be the son of Seraiah, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in scripture any descendant is said to be Neh. viii.

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the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived.

As Ezra was a very holy, so he was a very learned man, and exquisitely skilled in the knowledge of the scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very *ready scribe in the law of God;* which he was so eminent for, that Artaxerxes takes particular notice of it in his commission. He began his journey from Babylon on the first day of the first month called Nisan, (which might fall about the middle of our March,) and having halted at the river of Ahava, till the rest of his company came up, he recommended himself, and all that were with him, in a most solemn fast to the Divine protection; and then upon the twelfth day set forward for Jerusalem, where they all safely arrived upon the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from Babylon. Upon his arrival he delivered up to the temple all the offerings which had been made to it by the king and his nobles, and the rest of the people of Israel that stayed behind, which amounted to a hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of a thousand *darics,* (a piece amounting to one of our *jacobuses,*) and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of a hundred talents more. And then having communicated his commission to the king's lieutenants and governors through all Syria and Palestine, he applied himself to execute the contents of it. He was fully empowered to settle the church and state of the Jews according to the law of Moses, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and that, not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods,

Ezra vii. 12.

but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. All this authority Ezra was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute for the space of thirteen years, till Nehemiah arrived with a new commission from the Persian court for promoting the same design. CHAP. XXI.

CHAP. XXII.

The Book of Nehemiah.

THE successor of Ezra in the government of Judah and Jerusalem was Nehemiah, a very religious and most excellent person, who came nothing short of his predecessor, except in his learning and knowledge of the Divine law. He came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and by a commission from him superseded that of Ezra, and succeeded him. He had authority given him to repair the walls, and to set up the gates of Jerusalem, and to fortify it again in the same manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the Babylonians. He was a Jew, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of Jerusalem; but as to the tribe or family he was of, no more is said, than that his father's name was Hachaliah, who seems to have been of those Jews, who becoming rich in the land of their captivity, chose rather to continue there, than to return to their own country when they had leave to do it.

Nehemiah was one of the cupbearers of king Artaxerxes, which was a place of great honour and advantage in the Persian court; and the opportunity he had of being daily in the king's presence, together

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with the favour of Esther the queen, procured him the privileges he obtained for the building of the city, and the settlement of his country. When he came to Jerusalem, he opened his commission, and setting vigorously about the work, in fifty-two days he finished the walls, and set up the gates of the city, and a public dedication of them was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and Levites, and all the people. After this, he made some reformation of the abuses that had crept in among his countrymen; particularly, he took off the extortion of the usurers, by which the poor was oppressed, and forced to pay for the money they borrowed after the rate of twelve per cent., which was so grievous a burden, that they were obliged to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families. He returned again to Persia, and having obtained a new commission from the Persian court, he came back to Jerusalem, where his first care was to provide for the security of the city, which he had new fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward upon the towers and walls. He filled the city with a sufficient number of inhabitants: he examined strictly into the genealogies of the people, not only upon the account of their civil rights, but more especially for the regularity of Divine worship, that none might be admitted to officiate in the sanctuary as Levites, which were not of the tribe of Levi, or as priests, that were not of the family of Aaron. After twelve years he returned again to the Persian court, where he continued about five years; but many corruptions having obtained among the Jews

in his absence, he had leave to visit his country, where he was settled in his government, and with his usual zeal and diligence he reformed the abuses, and corrected what he found amiss, particularly he expelled some heathen strangers, who had lodgings and apartments within the temple itself: he established the reading of the law, and the orderly carrying on of the daily service; and settled the rules of marriage among the people, and expelled the refractory Jews that would not conform to obey them. He was always allowed to have been the author of the book that goes under his name, which was all of it originally written in the Hebrew language, and is supposed to contain an account of between thirty and forty years.

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The Book of Esther.

THIS book contains the history of a Jewish virgin of that name, the kinswoman of Mordecai the Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, dwelling at Shushan, which happened in the reign of Ahasuerus, one of the kings of Persia. The story is this: Haman, a great favourite of the king, and advanced to great honour by him, was highly incensed against Mordecai, one of the captive Jews, because he refused to do him reverence, and to bow to him. Whereupon he resolved, for his sake, to compass the destruction of all the Jews in those territories; and to that end obtained a decree from the king to put them all to the sword. But this wicked design was happily frustrated by means of Esther, a Jewish captive, who, for her transcendant beauty, had a little time

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before been advanced to the throne, and now prevailed with her royal husband to spare the life of her dear countrymen. In this manner Haman's cursed conspiracy was defeated; he himself advanced to a gibbet, and that of his own preparing; the Jews delivered from their fears and dangers; Mordecai, who discovered this design to queen Esther, and who before that discovered another conspiracy against the king, preferred to the greatest honours in the kingdom; the hearts and mouths of all the Jews in the king's provinces were filled with joy; and an annual festival was appointed to be celebrated in remembrance of this singular and unexpected deliverance in all succeeding generations.

There is scarce any history whose chronology is more uncertain than this of Esther: it is evident that it fell out in the time of king Ahasuerus, but the difficulty is to know who is the king that is so called in scripture. Archbishop Usher, in his Annals of the Old Testament, makes Darius Hystaspis to be the king Ahasuerus who married Esther, and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Artystona the Esther of the holy scriptures. But the characters that are given of these persons by the historians who have written of them are wholly inconsistent with this conjecture. The great Scaliger is of opinion, that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris his queen was the Esther of the sacred history; and his principal reason for it is, the similitude that is between the names of Esther and Hamestris. But the great difference in the actions and conduct of these two persons is an unanswerable argument against this opinion, Hamestris being a person of great cruelty

De Emendatione, lib. vi.

and abominable incontinency: so that how much soever the names of Esther and Hamestris may be alike, the persons could not be the same. But the most ancient evidences that can be had of this matter are from the Greek version of the sacred text, the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther, and Josephus; and all these agree that Artaxerxes Longimanus was the Ahasuerus of the scriptures; for Josephus positively asserts, that it was he; and the Septuagint through the whole Book of Esther, wherever Ahasuerus is mentioned in the Hebrew text, translate Artaxerxes. And the apocryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of Esther Artaxerxes, who could be no other than Artaxerxes Longimanus; for there are several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal Esther, which can by no means be applicable to the other Artaxerxes, called Mnemon. Severus Sulpitius, with many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And that extraordinary favour and kindness which Artaxerxes Longimanus shewed the Jews, beyond all the other kings that reigned in Persia, first in sending Ezra, and afterwards Nehemiah, for the repairing the broken affairs of that people in Judah and Jerusalem, and restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for upon any other reason, but that they had in the bosom of the Persian monarch such a powerful advocate as Esther to solicit for them.

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Antiq. lib. xi. c. 6.

The author of the Book of Esther is no less uncertain. Many of the Christian fathers attribute this history to Ezra. Eusebius believes it to be more modern: others ascribe it to Joachim the high priest,

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the grandson of Josedec. Most conceive Mordecai to be the author of it; and some join Esther to him. But Du Pin's conjecture is, that the great synagogue, to preserve the memory of this remarkable event, and to account for the original of the feast of Purim, ordered this book to be composed, which they approved, and placed in the canon of the sacred books.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Book of Job.

SOME account being given of the historical books of the Old Testament, the following are those which the Hebrews call *Moscelim*, that is, books written in a figurative and sententious style. The first is that which goes under the name of Job, because it contains the narrative of a series of misfortunes that happened to a man whose name was Job, the encomium of that patience with which he suffered, and the conferences that he had with his friends upon that account. Many of the Jewish rabbins pretend that this relation is altogether a fiction; but the most reasonable opinion is, that the groundwork of this history is true, but that the author wrote it in a poetical strain, and decorated it with peculiar circumstances, to render the narration more profitable and delightful. It cannot be a literal narration of a matter of fact; the manner wherein it is related, the style in which it is written, the converses between God and the Devil, the prolix discourses of Job's friends, do all prove that it is an account embellished by the author, to give a more sensible and affecting example of a finished patience, and to make

the instructions about the notions that a man ought to have in prosperity, as well as adversity, the more forcible and extensive. CHAP. XXIV.

The other books of scripture inform us, that Job is not a feigned name, since mention is made of him as of a real person, particularly by Ezekiel, where he is joined to Noah and Daniel, and pronounced to have been as righteous as they were. The time wherein this man lived, or when his history happened, is not recorded. The length of his life ought to have been above two hundred years, since he lived a hundred and forty after his reestablishment, as it is observed at the end of his book; from whence some have imagined that he was a great deal more ancient than Moses; and because there is no notice taken of the Levitical law, either by Job or his friends, there is great probability that his story happened before the law was written, and perhaps whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness. There are three men mentioned in scripture of the name of Job: the first was the grandson of Shem, and the son of Aram: the second, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother: the third, the son of Dishan, who was the son of Seir, the son of Esau; he is supposed to have been the last of these, and to have been an inhabitant of Uz in Idumæa.

Ezek. xiv. 14. James v. 11.

Gen. x. 22, 23. Chap. xxii. 11. Chap. xxvii. 28.

Some of the learned critics ascribe this history to Job himself; but the rabbins generally pronounce Moses to be the author. Others say, that Job wrote it originally in Syriac or Arabic, and that Moses rendered it into Hebrew, and added several passages to it; and some make Solomon the author, discovering, as they think, his manner of speaking in it.

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St. Jerome imagined that the Book of Job, excepting the two first chapters, and the end of the last, is written in hexameter verse, composed of dactyls and spondees, mixed sometimes with other feet of the same quantity, though not the same number of syllables. It seems to be a hard matter at present to discover the measure and cadency of these verses, but through the whole we may perceive that poetical genius, and those noble, bold, and figurative expressions, which are the very soul of poetry.

This book is naturally divided into three parts, though very unequal ones: the first is the historical narration of the former prosperity of Job, and of the miseries with which he was afterwards afflicted; and this is the subject of the two first chapters. The second consists of the speeches of Job and his friends, which is the principal body of the treatise. The third part, which begins at the seventh verse of the last chapter, is a short account of what followed after these conferences between Job and his friends; which concludes the whole.

CHAP. XXV.

The Book of Psalms.

THIS book is called *Sepher Tephilim* by the Hebrews, that is, the Book of Hymns, or Praises; but the Greeks called them *psalms*, (which comes from the verb ψάλλω, which signifies *to touch sweetly*,) because, with the voice was joined the sound of musical instruments. Most of the psalms have a particular title, signifying either the name of the author, or the person who was to set it to music, or that was

to sing it, or the name of the instrument that was to be used, or the tune by which it was to be sung, or the occasion or subject of the psalm. CHAP. XXV.

Some of the ancients believed that David was the sole author of the Book of Psalms: but this is impossible to be true, because the title of the nineteenth psalm, and others, tells us, that they were composed by Moses. The Psalms have two sorts of titles, one in the Hebrew text, which is the true, and the other in the Greek, which is frequently false. Such as are ascribed to David in the Hebrew are certainly his; for besides that they agree exactly with the character and history of that prince, we are told in scripture, that he not only composed many psalms, but ordered them to be sung by the Levites upon instruments: a custom that lasted among the Jews to the time of Hezekiah, who was the restorer of it, and which continued even after the return from the captivity of Babylon. There are some psalms that have no title, that are supposed to have been written by David, because the subject-matter they contain is suitable to the circumstances of that prince. Psalm ii. lxxii. cv. cvi.

The most ancient writer among the Psalmists is Moses, who was certainly the author of the ninetieth psalm, as appears by the title, *A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God.* Most of the Hebrews ascribe to him the ten following, which have no title; but this could not be, for Samuel is mentioned in the ninety-ninth.

The fiftieth psalm, and the seventy-third, with the ten following, are under the name *Asaph*, and the style of them is more lofty than that of the Psalms of David. But Asaph can hardly be supposed to be the author of all the psalms under his name; for

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the seventy-fourth, the seventy-seventh, the seventy-ninth, and eightieth, relate to the Babylonish captivity, so that they might be composed by some of the posterity of that prophet, who succeeded him in the office of singing the Divine praises.

Many of the psalms are under the name of the sons of Korah, who caused a rebellion among the Israelites: these were Levites, who were supposed to have their names prefixed to these psalms, not because they were the authors of them, but because they were to sing them; for the eighty-eighth, which is directed to them, is ascribed to Heman the Ezrahite. The same may be said of those psalms that have Jeduthun in the title, who was one of the chief singers among the Levites. The eighty-eighth is attributed to Heman, and the eighty-ninth to Ethan; who were of the tribe of Levi, and had singers under them. The seventy-second, and the hundred and twenty-seventh, are under Solomon's name: the former was composed by David for Solomon his son, who possibly might be the author of the latter. These are all the persons whose names are in the titles of the psalms, according to the Hebrew text.

The names of the instruments that were to be used, or the first notes of the tune with which they were to be sung, are prefixed to some of the psalms. We find many directed *to him that excelleth*, that is, *to the chief musician*, to be played on an instrument of strings, or on wind-music, or in the tune of some common song. Some titles denote, in general, the quality of the psalm, as, *A song of Instruction; A song of Praise:* and others contain the occasion for which the psalm was composed; as that of the

third psalm, *A psalm of David when he fled from his son Absalom.* CHAP. XXV.

The Book of Psalms was collected by Ezra, in the same measures that he found them: he followed no order in this work, either of the authors, times, or matters, and made one entire volume of them, without dividing them into classes. The Jews have since divided them into five parts: the first, ending at the forty-first psalm; the second, at the seventy-second; the third, at the ninetieth; the last, contains the rest of the psalms. By this we may understand that passage in the seventy-second psalm, and the last verse, *The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended;* that is, Here is an end of the second book of David's psalms.

There is the word *Selah* often used (seventy times at least) in those divine poems; but it is not easy to assign the true and proper import of it. "I cannot," says Avenarius, in his Book of Roots, "find the certain meaning of it, though I have consulted all the comments of the rabbies." The Chaldee Paraphrase renders it *perpetuo tempore,* and so several rabbins expound it, but can assign no sufficient reason for it. Some take it for a musical note, of no significancy in itself, but a mere made word, to direct the masters in music in singing or playing. But then there is some difference among those of this opinion; for some of the Hebrew writers think it denotes *the elevation of the voice,* and that wherever this word is in the Psalms, the choristers were put in mind to lift up their voices. Others of them believe it is a note, to signify a pause, a resting, or breathing for a time; and accordingly some of the Jewish doctors say, "that they

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" were admonished by this word to begin another " sentence or period." But another *classis* of interpreters look upon this word, not as a note of music, but of observation or remark, and are persuaded that it is affixed to some sentences that are very notable, and more especially worthy of our consideration. But the conjecture of Kimchi seems to have most reason in it, who joins this and the former expositions of the word together, telling us, " that Selah " is both a musical note, and a note of emphasis in " the sense, whereby we are ordered to observe " something more than usually remarkable." It is derived from *sal*, or *salal exaltavit*, and denotes the elevating of the voice in singing, and at the same time the lifting up of the heart, the serious meditating and considering upon the thing that is spoken. It is an argument to prove that this was of use in music and singing, because it is rendered διάψαλμα by the Greek interpreters, and which is more considerable, because we meet with it in the Psalms only,

Ver. 3. and in the third chapter of Habakkuk, which is a kind of psalm or canticle, as may be observed in the title of it. And that it is also a mark of observation and meditation, may be gathered from its being

Ver. 16. joined in the ninth psalm with *higgaion*, which signifies *meditation;* for the word is derived from *hagah meditatus fuit.* And though in some places *selah* seems to be used where there is no emphatic word or sense, yet it must be considered that this must be referred and applied, not only to the immediately preceding word or verse, but to the whole set of verses or periods about which it is placed; and then we shall find that something remarkable is denoted by it. It calls upon us to revolve in our minds

with great seriousness the matter that is before us, and to give glory to God; and to this purpose it may be observed, that in the forty-sixth psalm *selah* is rendered δόξα by the Seventy Interpreters. CHAP. XXV.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Book of Proverbs.

The wise Solomon succeeded his father David in the sacred canon of the Bible. He received from God the gift of wisdom and understanding, and composed three thousand sentences or proverbs, and a thousand and five songs, and the collection we have at present is, no doubt, a part of them. His name is prefixed to the whole work, *The proverbs of Solomon the son of David.* In the twenty-fifth chapter it is observed, that the following proverbs belong to him; but they were collected by persons appointed by king Hezekiah for that purpose. *These are also the proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out.* The thirtieth chapter begins thus, *The words of Agur the son of Jakeh:* the last chapter is entitled, *The words of king Lemuel.* From these different titles we may conclude, that the first four and twenty chapters may be the genuine work of Solomon; that the five next are a collection of several of his proverbs, made in the time of king Hezekiah, and by his order; and that the two last chapters were added, and belong to different though unknown authors; for there is no mention any where made of this Agur the son of Jakeh, nor of king Lemuel, whom some pretend to be king Hezekiah. However, this is certain, that 1 Kings iv. 32.

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the two last chapters are an addition made afterwards, and of a different style from the rest. The last is likewise composed of two distinct parts; the former consisting of sentences; and the latter, which cannot be the same author's, is a description of a wise wife. It is probable, that the end of the twenty-fourth chapter, from the twenty-third verse, which begins thus, *These things also belong to the wise*, is another author's.

It is the opinion of the Jews, that Solomon wrote the Canticles in his youth, the Proverbs in his manhood, and the Ecclesiastes in the latter end of his life. Others pretend that the Proverbs are the first work of Solomon, Ecclesiastes the second, and the Canticles the third: but these are trifling conjectures, from which it is impossible to discover the truth, or to receive satisfaction. It may be more proper to observe, that this proverbial manner of speaking and writing was in great use and esteem among the Hebrews, and all the countries of the East; whence it was that the queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon with hard questions, parables, according to the Chaldee, problems, riddles. This method of instruction was practised by the wise men of ancient times: Pythagoras and Plato were much addicted to this abstruse way, and all their followers were delighted with mystical representations: but the collection of the Proverbs of Solomon infinitely surpasses all that has been done by philosophers, whether we consider the justness of thought, or the nobleness of expression, or the wonderful varieties and extent of matters, or the wisdom of the maxims. All here is genuine, sublime, wise, plain, natural, and instructive.

This book is called *Mische* by the Hebrews, which signifies a *proverb* or *allegory*, but may be extended to all manner of figurative sentences. The Greeks style it παραβολαὶ, and the Latins *proverbia*, which in our language may more properly be rendered *sentences* or *maxims*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Book of Ecclesiastes.

THE name of Solomon is not prefixed to the Book of Ecclesiastes, yet the expression in the beginning of it, which can be applied to none else, sufficiently proves it to be his; *The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king of Jerusalem.* The greatest difficulty that can be raised, to make this not to be the work of Solomon, is taken from several Chaldee expressions that are said to be met with in it, and which, it is pretended, were not in use till after the captivity. Though this were so, yet, even in Solomon's time, there might be some Arabic or Chaldee terms mixed with the sacred language, which Solomon, who conversed with strange women, might have used, but the matter of fact is not certain, and there is scarce one word to be met with in this book but what is really Hebrew, and may be found in the preceding books. The Jews believed this to be the work of Solomon, and to be the effect of his repentance. It is evident that he who wrote it had reigned a long time already; that he had built him a magnificent palace; that he had enjoyed the pleasures of life; and that he was reclaimed from the passion he had for women.

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The design of this book is to shew the vanity or insolidity of all sublunary things. The author enumerates the particular objects upon which men place their happiness in this world; and then he discovers their instability by many curious reflections upon the pains and miseries of human life, and from death, which puts a period to all. Upon the whole, his discourse ends with this conclusion, *Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man.* St. Jerome observes, that this pious inference prevented the Jews from suppressing this whole Book of Ecclesiastes: "The Hebrews," says he, in his commentary upon this passage, "had thoughts "of excluding this work, as well as many other "writings of Solomon, which are now lost and for-"got, because this book asserts that the creatures of "God are vain; that all things are as nothing; "so that it seems to prefer eating and drinking, and "transient pleasure, before all things; but that this "single verse has made it deserve to be placed "among the divine books, because it appears that "the end of the author's discourse was to shew, that "we ought above all to *fear God, and keep his com-*"*mandments.*"

This book is called *Ecclesiastes* by the Greeks and Latins, that is, *the Preacher.* Among the Hebrews it has the title of *Coheleth*, which literally signifies *a collector*, because it is supposed to be a discourse or sermon delivered to an assembly. The Talmudists make king Hezekiah to be the author of it; Kimchi attributes it to Isaiah; and Grotius to Zorobabel: but the book itself affords no manner of foundation for these conjectures.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Song of Solomon.

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THE name of Solomon is prefixed in the title of this book by the Hebrew text, and the ancient Greek version, though it is ascribed to Hezekiah by the Talmudists. According to the Hebrew idiom, it is entitled, *Sir Hasirim, The Song of Songs,* or a most excellent song, or *epithalamium,* after the manner of an idyl, wherein are introduced, as speaking, a bridegroom, a bride, the friends of the bridegroom, and the companions of the bride. So that the Jews did not allow this book to be read by any till they were thirty years old; yet they did not suppose it included any obscene matters, but understood it to be an allegory: for, say they, if what is contained in this book were not sublime, it would never have been inserted in the canon of the holy scriptures. Some have conceived that Solomon had no other design in this work than to describe his amours with Abishag the Shunamite, or with the daughter of Pharaoh, because the letter of this book represents nothing but the tender expressions of a man and a woman, who love one another passionately: there is no principle of morality or religion in it; nor is the name of God so much as once mentioned. Others believe that this work is wholly allegorical, and that Solomon had no thoughts of carnal love in the composing of it. But the opinion between these two is the most reasonable; and it may be safely said, that according to the historical sense, it is a song to celebrate the marriage of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt, who is called Sulamita, after the name of Solomon; and

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in the mystical acceptation it denotes the strict union between Christ and his church, which in the gospel is compared to that union which is between a man and his wife. This is the mystery figured out by the marriage of Solomon, and veiled under the expressions of his *epithalamium*, than which nothing can possibly be more elegant. Here we may observe a fire, a flame, a delicacy, a variety, and nobleness, and such charms as are inimitable.

Some have pretended to discover five scenes in this song of Solomon's; but others, with more reason, have distinguished it into seven days, or rather seven parts of the eclogue, which answers to the seven days during which the ancients were used to celebrate their nuptials.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Book of the Prophet Isaiah.

WE are now come to the prophetical books, and the writers of them are commonly divided into two classes: the first is of those whose prophecies are larger, and are styled the Greater Prophets: and the second, of those whose prophecies are more concise, who are for that reason called the Minor or Lesser Prophets. The Greeks put the Lesser Prophets in the first place, because, perhaps, they are more ancient than the Greater; but the Greater Prophets have the first place among the Latins. The Hebrews reckoned no more than three of the Greater Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, for they did not allow Daniel to be a prophet; but he is included by the Greeks and Latins. The Lesser

Prophets are twelve in number, and the space wherein all these prophets flourished takes up the compass of about three hundred years, from the reign of Azariah, or Uzziah, to the rebuilding of the temple and the city of Jerusalem. The prophetical books will not give so much trouble concerning the authors of them as the others, for they are all under the names of those who composed them, and not one reasonable objection can be offered to the contrary. CHAP. XXIX.

Of those who prophesied after the division of the ten tribes, but before the captivity of either, Isaiah is the first and most eminent. He was of the blood royal, his father Amoz being brother to Azariah king of Judah. He prophesied from the end of the reign of Uzziah to the time of Manasseh, "By "whose order," says the Jewish tradition, "he was "sawn in two with a wooden saw." He delivered his predictions under the reigns of four kings, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. The five first chapters of his prophecy relate to the reign of Uzziah: the vision of the sixth chapter happened in Jotham's time. The next chapters, to the fifteenth, include his prophecies under the reign of Ahaz: and those that happened under the reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh are related in the next chapters, to the end.

The style of this prophet is noble, sublime, and florid. He was the Demosthenes of the Hebrews, as Grotius calls him; the purity of Hebraism is to be seen in him, as that of Atticism in the other: he used many schemes and figures, but in nothing more he excelled than in that difficult art of adding gravity, force, and vehemence to what he said. He

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had, above other prophets, an advantage of improving his style, by reason of his noble descent, and conversing with men of great parts and elocution. He reproved impartially the vices and disorders of the age he lived in, and openly displayed the judgments of God which were impendant over the Jewish nation: yet not forgetting to denounce vengeance on those foreigners, who were instrumental in inflicting those judgments, and for their crying sins deserved to be destroyed, viz. Assyrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Moabites, Edomites, Tyrians, and Arabians. He clearly foretold the deliverance of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon by the hand of Cyrus king of Persia; and this he expressly mentioned a hundred years before it came to pass. But his predictions concerning the Messiah are the most remarkable of all: he in plain terms foretold, not only the coming of Christ in the flesh, but all the great and memorable passages which belonged to him: he speaks as clearly and distinctly of these, as if our Saviour had blessed the world with his presence at that very time when he wrote his prophecy: he seems to speak, says St. Jerome, rather of things past than to come; and he may rather be called an evangelist than a prophet.

Præfat. in Isai.

CHAP. XXX.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah.

THIS divine writer was one of the priests, the son of Hilkiah, of Anathoth, in the tribe of Benjamin, near Jerusalem. He was called to the prophetic office when he was very young, about the

thirteenth year of king Josiah, which he afterwards executed for above forty years. He was not carried captive into Babylon with the other Jews, but remained in Judæa, to lament the desolation of his country. He was afterwards a prisoner in Egypt, with his disciple Baruch, where it is supposed he died in a very advanced age. Many of the Christian Fathers tell us, that he was stoned to death by the Jews, for preaching against their idolatry; and some say that he was put to death by Pharaoh Hophra, because of his prophecy against him: but these seem to be traditions, founded rather upon conjecture than upon any certain account of the matter. St. Jerome, in his preface to Jeremiah, says, that he always kept in a state of celibacy, which seems to be inferred from this passage, *Thou shalt not take thee a wife, neither shalt thou have sons or daughters in this place.* Jer. xvi. 2.

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The fifty-second chapter does not belong to the prophecy of Jeremiah, which concludes at the end of the fifty-first chapter with these words, *Thus far are the words of Jeremiah:* it rather belongs to Ezra, and contains a narration of the taking of Jerusalem, and of what happened during the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, to the death of Jechonias, taken almost entirely out of the Book of Kings. The eleventh verse of the tenth chapter is written in Chaldee. St. Jerome has observed upon this prophet, that his style was more simple and easy than that of Isaiah and Hosea; and that he even retains something of the rusticity of the village where he was born; but that he was very learned and majestical, and equal to those two prophets in the sense of his prophecy.

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Part of this prophecy relates to the time after the captivity of Israel, and before that of Judah, from the first chapter to the forty-fourth; and part of it was in the time of the latter captivity, from the forty-fourth chapter to the end: the whole contains matters of great worth and importance. The prophet lays open the sins of the kingdom of Judah with great freedom and boldness, and reminds them of the severe judgments which had befallen the ten tribes for the very same offences and miscarriages, and passionately laments their misfortune, and recommends a speedy reformation and repentance. At length he more peremptorily proclaims God's vengeance against them, foretelling the grievous calamities that were approaching, particularly the seventy years' captivity in Chaldea, which began (as some think) with the carrying away of those of Judah. He also dissuades them from breaking faith with the Chaldeans, after they were conquered by them; and shews how unsuccessful they should be in their revolting from them to the Egyptians. But even then he foretells their happy return and deliverance, and likewise the recompense which Babylon, Moab, the Philistines, and other enemies of the Jews, should meet with in due time. Here are also several intimations concerning the Messiah, and concerning his kingdom and government in the times of the gospel. Here are many remarkable visions and types, and historical passages of considerable moment, which relate to those times. So that the whole book is of inestimable worth, and such as can nowhere be found but in the sacred canon of the scriptures.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah.

THIS book (which is supposed to be in Hebrew verse, and so contrived, that in the four first chapters every verse, excepting one, begins with a Hebrew letter, in an alphabetic order) was written on the death of that religious prince Josiah, which appears from what is recorded; *Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.* 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. This is confirmed by the Jewish historian, who asserts this poem to be a funeral elegy on that pious king. Antiq. lib. x. c. 6. St. Jerome imagines, that this prophet laments the loss of Josiah, as the beginning of those calamities that followed; and accordingly he proceeds to bewail the miserable state of the Jews, and particularly the destruction of Jerusalem, which was not then come to pass, but is prophetically foretold, it being not unusual with the prophets to speak of things to come, as if they were already past; though some have conceived that this mournful song was written after the taking and sacking of Jerusalem, and is a passionate bewailing of the destruction of the temple, and the horrible consequences of it. The sacred penman humbly confesses the sins of the people, and acknowledges the Divine justice in all that befell them; to which he adds a serious exhortation to repentance, and comforts them with hopes of a restoration. So that the whole is an exact pattern of devotion, in times of great and national calamities and public sufferings.

There is a preface to the Lamentations of Jeremiah in the Greek and in the vulgar Latin, which is not in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee Paraphrase, nor in the Syriac, and which was manifestly an additional piece, set as an argument of this work.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.

EZEKIEL the prophet, the son of Buzi, of the house of Aaron, was carried captive to Babylon with Jechoniah; and therefore the era whereby he reckons in all his prophecies is from this captivity. He began to prophesy the fifth year of this captivity, the thirtieth of his age, and continued to prophesy during twenty years. He prophesied at the same time that Jeremiah did in Judæa, and afterwards in Egypt. Many of the same things he foretold, more especially the destruction of the temple, and the fatal event of those that revolted from Babylon to Egypt; and at last, the happy return of the Jews into their own land. He distinctly predicts the plagues which should be inflicted upon other nations that were enemies to the Jews, as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Egyptians, and lastly, the Assyrians and Babylonians. In figurative and mystical expressions, he foretells the Messiah, and the flourishing state of his kingdom. Because the prophet begins with visions and types, and ends with the measuring of the mystical temple, therefore (by reason of these abstrusities and mysteries) the beginning and end of this book were forbidden to be read by the Jews before they came to thirty years of age.

But the greatest part of this prophecy is plain, easy, and intelligible, referring chiefly to the manners and corruption of that degenerate age. Of all the prophets he abounds the most in enigmatical visions. St. Jerome says, that his style is neither eloquent nor mean, but between both. He abounds in fine sentences, rich comparisons, and shews a great deal of learning in profane things. He was killed, as it is supposed, by a prince of his own nation, whom he had reproved for worshipping of idols.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Book of Daniel.

DANIEL was of the progeny of the kings of Judah; he was contemporary with Ezekiel, and was a captive in Babylon at the same time that he was, being carried thither when he was about eighteen years of age. His name is not placed before his book, yet there are a great many passages wherein he speaks in the first person, which is sufficient evidence that he was the author of it. The ancient synagogue owned it as genuine and canonical; and the Talmudists acknowledge its authority; but they believe that this, as well as those of Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets, with the Book of Esther, was digested into the form in which it is at present, by the great synagogue. The style of Daniel is not so lofty or figurative as that of the other prophets; it is historical, clear, and concise: he makes his narrations and descriptions simple and natural, and seems to write more like an historian than a prophet.

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The Jewish writers have refused to receive Daniel into the number of the prophets, and therefore they place his book only among the Hagiographa; and they serve the Psalms of David after the same manner. The reason they give for it, in respect of both, is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly; David in his own palaces, as king of Israel; and Daniel, in the palace of the king of Babylon, as one of his chief ministers in the government of the empire. And in respect of Daniel they further add, that although he had divine revelations delivered to him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night; which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But Josephus, one of the most ancient writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets; and says further of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretell future events, as other prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass. And that whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and by that means drew upon themselves the hatred both of princes and people, Daniel was a prophet of good things to come, and by the good report of his predictions procured to himself the good opinion of all men. And the event of such of them as were accomplished, obtained for the rest a belief of their truth, and a general satisfaction that they came from God. But it is sufficient for us Christians, that our Saviour confesses Daniel to be a prophet, and so styles him in the gospel, which to us is a full decision of this matter.

Antiq. lib. x. cap. 12.

Matth. xxiv. 15.

The six first chapters of this book are a history of the kings of Babylon, and of what befell some of the

captive Jews under their government. Here we have Nebuchadnezzar's remarkable dream interpreted; we have a relation of the singular courage of the three Hebrew youths, who refused to fall down before his image, with the miraculous deliverance of them from the flames. Here is unfolded Belshazzar's fatal doom, contained in the mystical handwriting upon the wall, with his death, that soon followed upon it, and the succession of Darius to the throne, and the translation of the monarchy to the Medes. It was under this prince that our prophet was advanced to his greatest height of honour; for whereas he had been a great courtier and favourite (and therefore supposed by some to have been an eunuch) in Nebuchadnezzar's time, and in the close of Belshazzar's reign was made the third ruler in the kingdom, now he is made the first, being set over all the presidents and princes of the realm. This made him envied and hated; but he was persecuted much more for his religion by the grandees of the kingdom, and even by a decree of the king's own signing, committed to the den of lions, there to be devoured. But the hand of Omnipotence interposed, and he came out thence safe, and his adversaries and accusers were sent thither in his room, who were instantly destroyed. After this, he lived in great esteem and prosperity, not only in this king's reign, but under Cyrus, a monarch of the Persian race, and died about the ninetieth year of his age, a length of years given but to few in those days.

As our author in the former part of this book relates things past as an historian, so in the six last chapters he is altogether prophetical, foretelling not only what shall happen to his own church and na-

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tion, but his visions and prophecies reach to future events, wherein foreign princes and kingdoms are concerned. What can be more valuable than his dream or vision of the four secular monarchies of the world, and of the fifth, which was to be spiritual, and the kingdom of the Messiah? What is more famous and celebrated than his discovery (by the angel Gabriel's information) of the seventy weeks, viz. of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years, upon the expiring of which the empire of the Messiah was to be set up? What plain and signal prophecies does this book contain concerning that renowned conqueror Alexander the Great, and his subduing the Persian empire; as also concerning the fierce wars among his great captains and commanders, who succeeded him? Particularly, how clearly are the actions of Antiochus the Great, and Antiochus Epiphanes his son, described by our prophet, long before those persons were in being? and many other notable occurrences relating to the most public transactions on the stage of the world are prophetically foresignified and foretold by this divine seer, insomuch that we may style this book *the Apocalypse of the Old Testament.*

This Daniel was a very extraordinary person, both in understanding and piety, and his wisdom did not only extend to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus tells us of a famous edifice built by him at Susa, in the manner of a castle, (which he says was remaining in his time,) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this structure, he says, was the place where the Persian

Antiq. lib. x. cap. 12.

and Parthian kings used to be buried; and that for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. The copies of Josephus, that are now extant, do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but St. Jerome, who gives us the same account of it, word for word, out of Josephus, and professes that he does so, places it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain, that the copy of Josephus, which he made use of, had it so; and this, it is probable, was the true reading; for Susa (the same is called Shushan in the scripture) being within the Babylonish empire, we are told, in holy writ, that Daniel sometimes resided there; and Benjamin of Tudela observes in his Itinerary, that it has been the common tradition in those parts, for many ages past, that Daniel died in that city which is now called Tuster; and there they shew his monument down to this day. And it is to be considered, that Josephus calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which Daniel himself calls the castle or palace at Shushan, or Susa; for what we translate *at Shushan in the palace*, is in the original *Beshushan Habirah*; where, no doubt, the *Birah* of Daniel is the same with the *Baris* of Josephus, and both signify this castle or palace there built by Daniel, while he was governor of that province; for there he *did the king's business*, that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

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Comment. in Dan. viii. 2.

Dan. viii. 2.

Dan. viii. 27.

Part of the Book of Daniel is originally written in the Chaldee language, that is, from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the end of the seventh; all the rest is in Hebrew. The reason may be, because Daniel was now by his long abode in that country become, as it were, a Chaldean; and perhaps he

BOOK VIII. thought fit to write in the Chaldean language, because he related what belonged to the kings of Babylon, and the affairs of that place, which could not be better expressed than in this tongue.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Prophecy of Hosea.

THE twelve lesser prophets (so called because their writings were of a smaller bulk) are accounted by the Jews as one book; and accordingly St. Ste-
Acts vii. 42. phen quoting a passage out of Amos, says, *It is written in the book of the prophets.* Hosea, the son of Beeri, is placed the first among the minor prophets, both by the Hebrew text and the edition of the Seventy; but the Seventy observe the following order in the five others; Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah; whereas the order of the Hebrew text and the Vulgar Latin is this; Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah. Neither of them do exactly follow the chronological order; according to which, we should dispose both the greater and lesser prophets thus; viz. Jonah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

Hosea delivered his prophecies in the kingdom of Israel, and under the reign of Jeroboam the second, and his successors, kings of Israel, and whilst Uzziah, or Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, were kings of Judah. His name is at the head of the work; and he frequently speaks of himself in the first person, so that it cannot be questioned but that

he was the author of this prophecy: he directs his predictions wholly against the kingdom of Israel, which consisted of the ten tribes, but is by him peculiarly styled sometimes Joseph, sometimes Ephraim; at other times Samaria, Beth-el, Jacob, and Israel; as on the other hand, the kingdom of Judah is called by him Benjamin, and sometimes Jerusalem. His principal design, through the whole book, is to publish the gross idolatry, and other flagitious practices of that degenerate people, and to denounce the Divine judgments against them, and particularly to foretell their captivity in Assyria. He excites them to a due apprehension of this severity of God towards them, and exhorts them to an unfeigned repentance and reformation. All which is done with a most ravishing ardency, affection, and zeal. As to the style, it may be observed, that as Ezekiel was the obscurest of the greater prophets, so Hosea is of the minor ones: his style is pathetical, and full of short and lively sentences.

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CHAP. XXXV.

The Prophecy of Joel.

THE prophecy of Joel, the son of Pethuel, follows that of Hosea in the Hebrew text; but the time wherein he prophesied being not inserted in the beginning of his prophecy, is upon that account not so certain. St. Jerome believes him to be contemporary with Hosea, because he follows that prophet in the Hebrew text, and his opinion he grounds upon this principle, that the prophets are disposed according to the series of time; and that the time of a prophet being not set down, he is to be joined to the prophet

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that goes before him: but this rule does not always hold good. Some place him before Jehoram the son of Ahab, in whose time there was a seven years' famine, which it is pretended he foretold. The rabbins place the prophet Joel under the reign of Hezekiah, or Manasseh: others under the reign of Josiah, in whose days there was a famine. Huetius asserts, that Joel prophesied after the captivity of the ten tribes, upon the account of what is said, *that they had scattered the children of Israel among the nations.* But the prophet might have spoken of a future thing, as if it had been already past. He says further, that not a word is said of the kingdom of Israel throughout the whole prophecy; but this is not certain. They who say that he prophesied before Amos, have this to offer for their conjecture, that this prophet foretells a famine at the latter end of the first chapter, of which Amos speaks as of a thing past. But Huetius pretends that these are two different famines; that the famine mentioned in Amos happened naturally, but that in Joel was to be occasioned by the incursions of the enemy.

In Seder Olam.

Chap. iii. 2.

Amos iv.

The style of this prophet is figurative, strong, and expressive. He was, according to some, of the tribe of Gad; and others place him in the tribe of Reuben. He upbraids the Israelites for their idolatry, and foretells the calamities they should suffer, as a punishment for that sin; but supports them with the comfort, that their miseries should have an end upon their reformation and repentance. It may seem extraordinary that God should command this prophet to take him *a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms:* but this ought to be understood either simply as a vision; or it may be supposed that God

did not command him to commit adultery, but (as most commentators explain it) to marry a wife of an infamous character. CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Prophecy of Amos.

AMOS, who in his youth had been a herdsman in Tekoa, (a small country town, about a mile and a half from Jerusalem,) was sent to the kine of Bashan, that is, the people of Samaria, or the kingdom of Israel, to reduce them to amendment and repentance. For this purpose he boldly remonstrates against the crying sins that prevailed among them, against idolatry, oppression, wantonness, and incorrigibleness. He spares not those of Judah, but reproves them freely for their carnal security, their sensuality, and injustice. He terrifies both of them with frequent threatenings, and fears not to pronounce that their sins will end at last in the ruin of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel; which he confirms and illustrates by the visions of a plumb-line, and a basket of summer fruits. It is observable in this prophecy, that as it begins with denunciations of judgment and destruction against the Syrians, the Philistines, the Tyrians, and other enemies of the Jews, so it concludes with comfortable promises of restoring the tabernacle of David, and erecting the kingdom of Christ.

This divine person was chosen to the prophetic office in the time of Uzziah king of Judah, and of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake, which happened in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of king Uzziah.

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He is observed not to be so lofty as the rest, and to make use of comparisons and expressions taken from the calling of which he was, and suitable to his state and profession.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Prophecy of Obadiah.

OBADIAH'S prophecy is contained in one single chapter, and is partly a divine invective against the merciless Edomites, who mocked and derided the captive Israelites as they passed to Babylon, and who, with other enemies, their confederates, invaded and oppressed these poor strangers, and made a great ravage, and divided the spoil among them; and it is partly a prediction of the deliverance and salvation of Israel, and of the victory and triumph of the whole church over all her enemies.

The time when this prophecy was delivered is wholly uncertain: the Hebrews believe that this prophet was the same with the governor of Ahab's house, mentioned in the First Book of the Kings, who hid and fed the hundred prophets whom Jezebel would have destroyed. Some say he was that Obadiah whom Josiah made overseeer of the works of the temple. But most make him contemporary with Hosea, Amos, and Joel: and some believe that he flourished with the prophet Jeremiah after the taking of Jerusalem. It is more probable that he lived in the time of Ahaz, when the Edomites, in conjunction with the Israelites, made war against the tribe of Judah, because his prophecy is wholly directed against the Edomites, or Idumeans.

1 Kings xviii. 3.

2 Chron. xxxiv. 12.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Prophecy of Jonah.

THE prophecy of Jonah was directed to the Ni- CHAP. XXXVIII.
nevites, as Obadiah's to the Edomites; and relates how that prophet being commanded by God to go to Nineveh, but disobediently attempting a voyage another way, was discovered by a sudden tempest arising, and was cast into the sea, and swallowed by a whale, which, after it had lodged him three nights and three days in its belly, disgorged him upon the dry shore. Whereupon, being sensible of his past danger, and of his surprising deliverance, he betook himself to that journey and embassy which were first appointed him; and arriving at that great city, the metropolis of all Assyria, he, according to his commission, boldly laid open to the inhabitants their sins and miscarriages, and proclaimed their sudden overthrow, if they repented not. Upon which the whole city, by prayer and fasting, and humbling themselves, and by a speedy repentance, happily averted the Divine vengeance, and prevented their ruin.

Jonah was the son of Amittai the prophet, who was of Gath-hepher near Diô-Cæsarea, of the tribe of Zebulon in Galilee. What the Jews say, that he was the son of the widow-woman of Sarepta, is a groundless imagination. He began to prophecy in the reign of Joash, the father of Jeroboam, king of Israel, in the days of Uzziah or Azariah king of Judah, and seems to be the most ancient of all the prophets. The history related in his prophecy came to pass in the days of Pul, the father of Sardanapalus king of Nineveh, who was invited by Menahem,

2 Kings xiv. 25.

BOOK VIII. and came into the kingdom of Israel with an army in the lifetime of the prophet Hosea.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Prophecy of Micah.

MICAH prophesied in the kingdom of Judah before the captivity of Babylon, in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, after the prophets already mentioned, but before Jeremiah, who cites him in his prophecy. He reprehends impartially the reigning vices both of Jerusalem and Samaria; and is terrible in his denunciations of judgments against both kingdoms, but more particularly he foretells the approaching destruction of Jerusalem. Yet he leaves not the church without support; for he expressly predicts the confusion of her enemies, the blessed arrival of the Messiah, and with him the peace and prosperity, the increase and advancement, the glory and triumph of the church. So that Micah seems to be Isaiah epitomised, giving us in brief what the other more largely and amply insisted upon.

Jer. xxvi. 18.

The style of these two prophets is observed to be lofty and towering, though natural and intelligible.

CHAP. XL.

The Prophecy of Nahum.

NAHUM prophesied after the carrying captive of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, a little before the captivity of the kingdom of Judah. His prophecy is properly called *a burden*, that word, both in the

Greater and Lesser Prophets, importing the denouncing of some grievous and heavy judgment; and such is this which he here threatens to Nineveh: for this people, it seems, returned to their former sins after Jonah's preaching; and for this reason, another prophet is sent to foretell their overthrow by the Chaldeans, upon this their relapse into their former wickedness. He uses no kind invitations to repentance, as the former messenger did, but he absolutely and peremptorily proclaims their ruin; and with a most passionate and melting eloquence, (such as is not to be paralleled in the most celebrated masters of oratory,) deciphers the dreadful circumstances that should attend it. The style of Nahum is figurative, and full of comparisons. CHAP. XL.

CHAP. XLI.

The Prophecy of Habakkuk.

WE know nothing certain of the country or of the time wherein Habakkuk lived. The Jews say that he prophesied in the days of Manasseh, or Jehoiakim, just before the captivity: but others, with more reason, believe that he flourished in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah.

This prophet complains of the corrupt state of the Jews in those times, predicting the invasion of the Chaldeans as the just reward of their sins. It is remarkable in this prophecy, (which we find not in any of the rest,) that it is composed in the way of dialogue. First, the prophet speaks from the first verse of the first chapter to the fourth; then God answers, verse the fifth to the eleventh; the

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prophet replies, verse the twelfth to the seventeenth; God's answer is in the second chapter to the end. Then follows the prophet's excellent prayer. This prophecy is obscure and hard to be understood. But the providence of God in suffering the best men to be miserably treated, and that by the most wicked and vile, is here vindicated, and the certainty of a happy revolution is assured. The prophet also, by propounding the example of his own singular faith and patience in the greatest difficulties and extremities, encourages the pious to wait upon God, to rejoice in him, and to expect deliverance from their calamities. The whole was designed to be a support and solace to the faithful in the time of their captivity.

CHAP. XLII.

The Prophecy of Zephaniah.

ZEPHANIAH was employed in the prophetic office in the time of king Josiah, before that prince had reestablished the worship of God, and the observation of the law, in its purity. He prophesied a little after the captivity of the ten tribes, and before that of Judah; so that he was contemporary with Jeremiah.

He freely publishes to the Jews, that what incensed the Divine wrath against them was the contempt of God's service, their apostasy, their treachery, their idolatry, their violence and rapine, and other egregious enormities which were observable in them and their princes. Such high provocations as these rendered their destruction terrible, universal, unavoidable: and then, as most of the prophets are

used, he mingles exhortations to repentance, as the only proper concern in these circumstances. He adds very severe comminations against their enemies, and presages their destruction. He likewise supports the faithful with promises of the certain restauration of the church; of a release from all their former pressures and grievances; of a cessation from all their fears; of the continuance of the Divine presence and blessing. So that this short prophecy contains in it all the others, and may justly be said to be an abridgement of them. The style of this prophet is like that of Jeremiah, of whom, St. Isidore observes, he seems to be the abbreviator.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Prophecy of Haggai.

HAGGAI prophesied after the return from the captivity in Babylon, in the second year of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of Persia. The Jews were afflicted with a sore famine, because they neglected to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem: Haggai informed them of the cause of their visitation, so that they began to resume the work. It was upon the first day of the sixth month (which answers to about the middle of our August) that the word of the Lord came by Haggai to Zerubbabel governor of Judæa, and to Jeshua the high priest, concerning this matter; and upon the twenty-fourth of the same month they applied themselves to provide stone and timber, and other materials that were necessary for the building. And to encourage them to go on with vigour, upon the twenty-first day of

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the seventh month (that is, about the beginning of our October) they received another message from God by the same prophet, which not only assured them of his presence, and that he would prosper the work, but promised that the glory of the latter house, when built, should exceed the glory of the former; which was accomplished when Christ came to this very temple, and honoured it with his Divine presence. Upon the twenty-fourth of the ninth month (about the beginning of December) he declares to them that God had changed their scarcity into plenty, from the day that they had laid the foundations of the temple, and assures Zerubbabel of the Divine protection. The prophecy of Haggai is clear and historical.

CHAP. XLIV.

The Prophecy of Zechariah.

ZECHARIAH entered upon the prophetic office at the same time with Haggai, some time after the release from the captivity; and he was sent to the Jews upon the same message, to reprove them for their backwardness in erecting the temple, and restoring the Divine worship, but especially for the disorder of their lives and manners, which could not but derive a curse upon them. By several notable visions and types he endeavours to confirm their faith, and establish their assurance concerning God's providence with them, and care over them: and as a proof and demonstration of this, he intersperses the most comfortable promises of the coming, the kingdom, the temple, the priesthood, the victory, the

glory of Christ the Branch. Nor does he forget to assure them of the ruin of Babylon, their most implacable enemy. Here likewise is foretold the great number of converts to the Christian faith; the successful spreading and propagating of the gospel; the wonderful efficacy of the Holy Spirit in those days; the rejection of the unbelieving Jews; the utter destruction of their city, temple, and whole nation by the Romans for their crucifying the Messiah; and other particulars relating to the times of the gospel, which none of the lesser prophets speak of but this. CHAP. XLIV.

This is a different person from that Zechariah mentioned by Isaiah, and from him that was slain by the command of king Joash between the temple and the altar. Chap. viii. 2 Chron. xxiv. 20.

CHAP. XLV.

The Prophecy of Malachi.

THE prophets Haggai and Zechariah exhorted the Jews to rebuild the temple; but Malachi recommends to them the observation of the law, and that they would offer their sacrifices with purity; which supposes that the temple was already rebuilt.

The name of Malachi signifies *my angel,* which made Origen and Tertullian to believe that he was an angel incarnate. He is called an angel by most of the Fathers, and in the version of the Septuagint: but he was an angel by office, not by nature, as he himself styles the priests *angels.*

He prophesied about three hundred years before our Saviour's time, reproving the Jews for their

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wickedness after their return from Babylon; particularly he charges them with rebellion, sacrilege, adultery, profaneness, infidelity, but especially he condemns the priests for being careless and scandalous in their ministry, which was sufficient to give authority to others to be vicious. At the same time he forgets not to encourage the pious remnant, who in that corrupt age *feared the Lord, and thought upon his name.* This prophet, who had pointed before at the Messias to be exhibited, (for he expressly says, *He shall suddenly come to his temple,*) concludes his prophecy with an exhortation to *remember the law,* to live according to its holy rules and injunctions, and with a promise *of the coming of the Lord,* who was to be introduced by Elijah the prophet, that is, by John the Baptist, *who came in the spirit and power of Elias.*

In Sether Olam, Dan. ix. 24.

The Jews have a tradition, that in the last year of Darius the son of Hystaspes died the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and with them ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the Israelites, and that this was the resignation or sealing up of vision and prophecy, spoken of by the prophet Daniel.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Apocryphal Books. The Books of Esdras.

THE books under the name of Esdras are justly excluded the Jewish canon; nor are they allowed to be canonical by the Romanists themselves. They are supposed by some to be written originally in Greek by some Hellenistical Jew; others imagine they were first written in Chaldee, and afterwards

translated into Greek: the time is uncertain, though it be generally agreed that the author wrote before Josephus. The first book is chiefly historical, and gives an account of the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the building of the temple, and the establishment of Divine worship. The truth it contains is translated from the canonical book of Ezra, the rest is exceedingly fabulous and trifling. The second book is written in a prophetical way, and pretends to visions and revelations, but so fanciful, undigested, and absurd, that the Spirit of God could have no concern in the dictating of them.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Book of Tobit.

TOBIT was of the tribe of Naphtali, and one of those whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried away captive when he took Samaria, and destroyed the kingdom of Israel. This happened in the fourth year of the reign of Hoshea king of Israel, and the sixth of Hezekiah king of Judah. The tribe of Naphtali was indeed carried away before by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria; but this was not a general captivity, there were several still left behind. 2 Kings xv. 29.

The Book of Tobit was first written in Chaldee by some Babylonian Jew, and seems in its original draught to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates, first begun by Tobit, then continued by Tobias, and finished in the last place by some other of the family, and afterward digested by the Chaldee author into that form in which we now have it. It was translated out of the Chaldee into

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Latin by St. Jerome, and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. But there is a Greek version much ancienter than this, from which was made the Syriac version, and also that which we have in English among the apocryphal writers in our Bible. But the Chaldee original is not now extant. The Hebrew copies, which go about of this book, as well as of that of Judith, seem to be of a modern composure. It being easier to settle the chronology of this book, than that of the Book of Judith, it has met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked upon, both by Jews and Christians, as a genuine and true history, though as to some matters in it, (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of Tobias in a long journey under the shape of Azarias, the story of Raguel's daughter, the frighting away of the Devil by the smoke of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of Tobit's blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility. These things look more like the fictions of Homer, than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book, which does not lie against the other.

This book is very instructive, very affectionate, full of religious and pious thoughts, and writ in a plain, natural, and easy style. Tobit lived a hundred and two years in all; lost his sight at fifty-six years of age, and recovered it in the sixtieth. Before his death he foretold the destruction of Nineveh, which happened under Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus, that is, under Astyages and Nabopalasar.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Book of Judith.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THIS book goes under the name of a Jewish widow, who is the principal personage of the history related in it, of which this is the summary account: Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, who reigned in Nineveh, having defeated and taken Arphaxad, king of the Medes, prisoner, laid a design of subduing the people of Asia, that were westward of Nineveh, and sent Holofernes with a great army; who, striking a terror wherever he came, made himself master of Mesopotamia, Syria, Libya, and Cilicia, who voluntarily submitted to his arms. After these conquests he came to Idumæa, which he took without any opposition, and there rendezvoused his army. The Israelites, alarmed at his approach, raised all their forces, seized upon the hill countries, and fortified their cities. The high priest Joachim, or Eliakim, encouraged them to defend themselves stoutly, and ordered them to pray to God for relief. Holofernes, amazed that this people should make preparations of war against so powerful an army, inquired of their neighbours the Moabites and Ammonites what force this people had, and what reason there might be of their not submitting to him. Achior, the chief of the Ammonites, relates in few words the history of that people, and having shewn him how they were sometimes protected, and sometimes forsaken by their God, he says, That if they had offended this God, he would deliver them into his hands; but if not, then God would defend them, and all his army could not conquer them. Holofernes received this advice with indignation, and or-

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dered Achior to be carried to Bethulia, which he immediately besieged, designing to be revenged of Achior so soon as he had taken that place. Ozias, the governor of that city, prepared for its defence; but the inhabitants, daunted at the number of the enemy, would have surrendered, and were with difficulty prevailed upon to stay only for five days. It was then that Judith, a rich and beautiful widow, resolved upon going into the camp of Holofernes, in order to destroy him: for that purpose she went out of the city, came to the camp, was taken and brought before Holofernes. He was pleased with her, made a great feast for her, and drank himself drunk in his tent. After this, he was locked up with her alone: she took her opportunity, cut off his head, made her escape, and carried the head of the general with her to Bethulia. A great horror seized the army of the Assyrians; they flew away in great disorder; the Israelites pursued them, killed many of them, and became masters of a very large spoil. Judith sang a song, and went with all the people to Jerusalem, to return thanks to the Lord. She returned afterwards to Bethulia, there lived till she was a hundred and five years of age, and during her life the Israelites enjoyed peace.

But notwithstanding the circumstances of this history are so particularly recorded, yet learned men are not agreed, whether the book be a relation of a matter of fact, or a fiction only. The Romanists will have it all to be true; for they have received it into the canon of Divine writ: but, on the other hand, it is the opinion of Grotius, that it is wholly a parabolical invention, written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he came into Judæa to raise a perse-

In Præfat. In Lib. Judith.

cution against the Jewish church; and that the design of it was to confirm the Jews under that persuasion in their hopes, that God would send them a deliverance. By Judith he conceives is meant Judæa; by Bethulia, the temple or house of God; and by the sword, which went out from thence, the prayers of the saints; that Nabuchodonosor denotes the Devil; and the kingdom of Assyria signifies pride, the Devil's kingdom; by Holofernes is meant the instrument or agent of the Devil in that persecution, Antiochus Epiphanes, who made himself master of Judæa, that fair widow, so called, because destitute of relief; that Eliakim signifies God, who would arise in her defence, and at length cut off that instrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her. This particular explication of the parable (as he would have it to be) is the peculiar fancy of this great man; but otherwise there are abundance of learned writers among protestants, who agree with him, in the general, that this book is rather a parabolical than a real history, made for the instructing and comforting the people of the Jews under that figure, and not to give them a narrative of what was really done. And what has inclined men of learning to this opinion is the great difficulty which they suppose belongs to the chronology of this history, insomuch that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times, wherever it has been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the captivity of the Jews. But though the difficulty were much greater than it is, yet that would be no proper reason for rejecting the history as false; for there are many histories, as well sacred as profane, which lie under the same difficulties. If the history be true, it must be

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placed in the reign of Manasseh, who was carried captive by the king of the Assyrians, with part of his people, before the captivity of Babylon.

The Book of Judith was originally written in the Chaldee language by some Jew of Babylon, (which is now lost,) and from thence, at the desire of Paula and Eustachium, was by St. Jerome translated into the Latin tongue, which is the same translation now extant in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, of which he himself says in the preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only rendered it according to the sense of the author; and that cutting off the corruptions of various readings, which he found in different copies, he only inserted that into the translation which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the original. But besides this translation of St. Jerome, there are two others, one in Greek, and the other in Syriac: that which is in Greek is attributed to Theodotion, who flourished in the time of Commodus, who was made emperor of Rome in the year of Christ a hundred and eighty. But it must be much ancienter; for Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, (which was written near a hundred and twenty years before,) brings a quotation out of it. The Syriac translation was made from the Greek, and so was also the English, which we have at present among the apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned, have several particulars which are not in St. Jerome's; and some of these seem to be those various readings, which he professes to have cut off as corruptions of the text, and particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter appears to be of this sort:

for there the battle of Ragau is placed in the seventeenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which is directly contrary to what is in the former part of the same chapter; for there it is positively said, that it was in the twelfth year of his reign. And agreeable to this, St. Jerome places the expedition of Holofernes (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which is the truth of the matter; whereas the other, following the blunder of the former contradiction, makes another, by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so renders that part of the history wholly inconsistent with itself. In this particular St. Jerome's version is to be preferred, which gives good reason to think that it ought to be so in all the rest wherever there is any difference between them.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon.

THE Book of Wisdom is commonly ascribed to king Solomon, either because the author imitated that king's manner of writing, or because he sometimes speaks in his name. It is certain he was not the author of it; for it was not written in Hebrew, nor was it inserted in the Jewish canon, nor is the style like that of Solomon's; and therefore St. Jerome observes justly, that "it smells strongly of the "Grecian eloquence;" that it is composed with art and method, after the manner of the Greek philosophers very different from that noble simplicity, so full of life and energy, to be found in the Hebrew books. It has been attributed by many of the an-

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cients to Philo the Jew, but one more ancient than he, whose works are now extant. This book is commonly ascribed to an Hellenistical Jew, who lived since Ezra, and about the time of the Maccabees.

It may properly be divided into two parts: the first is a description and encomium of wisdom; the second, beginning at the tenth chapter, is a long discourse in the form of prayers, wherein the author admires and extols the wisdom of God, and of those who honour him; and discovers the folly of the wicked, who have been the professed enemies of the good and virtuous in all ages of the world.

CHAP. L.

The Book of Ecclesiasticus.

THIS book is distinguished by this name, because it was read in the church; for the ancients divided those books which they called *holy* into two sorts: some they called *canonical*, because being indisputably the work of the Holy Ghost, they were therefore the rule of faith and manners; and others they called *ecclesiastical*, because they were read in the church, though only as books of piety, but not as writings of an infallible authority.

We are informed by the anonymous preface before this book, that the author of it was a Jew, called Jesus the Son of Sirach, who composed it in Hebrew; but it was rendered into Greek by his grandson of the same name. St. Jerome says, that in his time the Hebrew copy which he saw was not entitled Ecclesiasticus, but Proverbs. It has been styled by many of the ancients Πανάρετος, *The Book of every Virtue.*

But the most common name among the Greeks is, CHAP. L.
The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach.

It was composed under the high priesthood of Onias the Third, and translated in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, or Ptolemy Physcon, the brother of Ptolemy Philometer. This book has been ascribed to Solomon by some of the ancients. The author, without doubt, designed to imitate the subject and thoughts expressed in the Proverbs of that king, and has borrowed many of his thoughts, and followed his method of teaching morality by sentences or maxims, but his expressions have not the same force or vivacity.

This book begins with an exhortation to the pursuit of wisdom. After this follow a great many maxims of morality to the forty-fourth chapter, where the author begins to publish the praises of the patriarchs, prophets, and the most illustrious persons of the Jewish nation.

CHAP. LI.

The Book of Baruch.

THIS book bears the name of Baruch, the son of Neriah, who was the disciple and amanuensis of Jeremiah the prophet. The subject of it is an epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by king Jehoakim, and the Jews in captivity with him at Babylon, to their brethren the Jews that were left still in Judah and Jerusalem, with an historical preface premised; which relates how Baruch, being then at Babylon, did in the name of the king and of the people, and by their appointment, draw up this epistle, and after-

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wards read it to them for their approbation; and then it was sent to Jerusalem with a collection of money, to Joachim the high priest, the son of Hilkiah, the son of Shallum, and to the priests, and to all the people, to buy burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and to prepare the *mincha*, and to offer upon the altar.

There are three copies of this book; one in Greek, and the other two in Syriac; one of which agrees with the Greek, but the other very much differs from it. In what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, is difficult to determine. St. Jerome rejected it wholly; and the most that can be said for it is, that Cyril of Jerusalem, and the Laodicean council, (held in the year of Christ three hundred sixty-four,) do name Baruch among the canonical books of holy scripture: for in both the catalogues which are given by them of the canonical books are these words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, Lamentationibus, et Epistola*, that is, "Jeremiah with Baruch, "the Lamentations, and the Epistle;" which expression may seem to mean the Prophecies of Jeremiah, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the Book of Baruch, with the Epistle of Jeremiah at the end of it, as they are placed together in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. But the answer to this is, that these words were intended to express no more than the Prophecies of Jeremiah, and the Lamentations only; that by the *epistle* is meant no other, than the epistle in the twenty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah; and that the name of Baruch is added for no other reason, than on the account of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last chapter to the

In Præfat. ad Jerem.

book of his prophecies, which is supposed to be written by Baruch, because the prophecies of Jeremiah end with the chapter before, which is the fifty-first, as it is said positively in the last words of it. And it must be said, that since neither in St. Cyril, nor in the Laodicean council, any other of the apocryphal books are named, it is very improbable that by the name of Baruch, in either of them, should be meant the apocryphal book so called, which has the least pretence of any of them all to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which the Fathers of Trent found to make it so. CHAP. LI. Hist. of Trent, b. ii.

CHAP. LII.

The Song of the Three Holy Children. The History of Susannah. The History of Bel and the Dragon.

IN the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, there is added in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel, after the twenty-third verse, between that and the twenty-fourth verse, The Song of the Three Children; and at the end of the book, The History of Susannah, and of Bel and the Dragon; and the former is made the thirteenth, and the other the fourteenth chapter of the book in that edition: but these were never received into the canon of holy writ by the Jewish church; neither are they extant either in the Hebrew or the Chaldee language; nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are Hebraisms in them, can prove no more than that they were written by a Hebrew in the Greek tongue, who, as is usual, transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that in which he wrote. And that they

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were thus written originally in the Greek tongue by some Hellenistical Jew, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, that in the history of Susannah, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes to the Greek names of the trees under which they said the adultery, which they charged Susannah with, was committed, which allusions can hold good in no other language. In the examination of the elders, when one of them said that he saw the adultery committed ὑπὸ σχῖνον, that is, *under the mastick-tree*, Daniel is made to answer, in allusion to σχῖνον, *the angel of God hath received sentence of God*, σχίσαι σε μέσον, that is, *to cut thee in two*. And when the other elder said it was ὑπὸ πρίνον, that is, *under an holm-tree*, Daniel answers, in allusion to the word πρίνον, *The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword*, πρίσαι σε μέσον, that is, *to cut thee in two*. However, the church of Rome allows both these histories to be of the same authority with the rest of the Book of Daniel, and, by the council of Trent, have given them an equal place with it among the canonical scriptures. But the ancients never did so, but rejected them; and St. Jerome particularly gives them no better title than the fables of Bel and the Dragon. And others, who have been content to admit them for the instruction of manners, have yet never allowed them to be parts of the canonical scripture; and the protestant churches give them a place in their Bibles among the apocryphal writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

CHAP. LIII.

The First Book of the Maccabees.

CHAP. LIII.

THE books of the Maccabees are so called from Judas, the son of Mattathias, surnamed Maccabeus, either upon the account of his valour, or because he put upon his standard the first letters of a sentence in Exodus, which, joined together, form the name of Maccabee. The Hebrews call them also the books of the Assamoneans, but for what reason is not certainly known. Josephus and Eusebius imagine that Mattathias was the son of Hasmoneus; and it is probable it was the name of that family.

Exod. xv. 12.

The first book is a very accurate and excellent history, and comes nearest to the style and manner of the sacred historical writings of any extant. It was written originally in Chaldee language, of the Jerusalem dialect, which was the language spoken in Judæa, from the return of the Jews from Babylon. It was extant in this language in the time of St. Jerome, for he tells us that he had seen it. The title which it then bore, was *Sharbit Sar Bene El*, which some translate, "The Scourge of the Rebels "against the Lord;" and others, "The Sceptre of "the Prince of the Sons of God;" a title agreeable to the character of Judas, who was a valiant commander of God's people under persecution. The author of this book is not certainly known: some conjecture it was written by John Hircanus, the son of Simon, who was prince and high priest of the Jews near thirty years, and began his government at the time where this history ends. Others ascribe it to one of the Maccabees themselves; and many think it to be the work of the great synagogue. It

In Prologo Galeato.

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is most probable that it was composed in the time of John Hircanus, when those wars of the Maccabees were over, either by John Hircanus, or by some others employed by him: for it reaches no further than where his government begins, and therefore in the time immediately so following, it seems most likely to have been written; and public records being made use of, and referred to in this history, it is thought it was composed under the direction of some public authority. From the Chaldee it was translated into Greek; and after that a translation was made of it from the Greek into Latin, and we receive our English version from the same Greek fountain. This book follows the Jewish era; the following, that of Alexandria, which begins six months after.

CHAP. LIV.

The Second Book of the Maccabees.

THE Second Book of the Maccabees consists of several pieces compiled together; but by what author is uncertain. It begins with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt, to exhort them to observe the feast of the Dedication of the new altar, erected by Judas on his purifying the temple, which was celebrated upon the twenty-fifth day of their month Cisleu. The first begins at the first verse of the first chapter, and ends at the ninth verse of the same chapter, inclusively; the second begins at the tenth verse of the second chapter, and ends with the eighteenth verse of the same chapter. But these epistles are additions to the history, and supposed to

be spurious. The two last chapters, likewise, are supposed to be added, because Jason (of whose works this book is an abridgement) only wrote what passed in the reign of Demetrius, who succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, and of his son Eupator, king of Syria: but those next chapters contain things which passed in the reign of Demetrius, who succeeded Eupator. What follows after the last epistle, to the end of the chapter, is the preface of the author to his abridgement of the history of Jason. This Jason was an Hellenist Jew of Cyrene, of the race of those Jews sent thither by Ptolemy Soter. He wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, and of the purification of the temple at Jerusalem, and the dedication of the altar; and the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son, in five books. These five books the author abridged, and of this abridgement, and the other particulars above mentioned, compiled the whole book in the same Greek language; and this proves that author to have been an Hellenist also. It is probable he was a Jew of Alexandria in Egypt, for that was the principal seat of learning in that country. This Second Book of the Maccabees does by no means equal the accurateness and excellency of the first.* There are in the Polyglot Bibles, both of Paris and London, Syriac versions of both these books; but they are both of them of a latter date, and made from the Greek, though they are observed in some places to differ from it. And from the same Greek are also made the English versions of both these books, which we have among the apocryphal writers in our Bibles.

CHAP. LIV.

Chap. ii. 20.

These two books contain the history of the Jews

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for forty-five years, or thereabouts, from the end of the reign of Seleucus Philopator, to the end of that of Antiochus Soter, first brought under subjection to the kings of Syria, and afterwards restored to their liberty, and governed successively by Judas Maccabeus and his two brethren Jonathan and Simon, chosen high priests and princes of the Jews.

CHAP. LV.

The translation of the Septuagint. The history of Aristeas considered.

HAVING taken a short survey of the history of the sacred text, it may be proper to give some account of the principal translations of the scriptures, especially such as were received by the Jews before the dissolution of their republic, or as long as any form of government or discipline appeared among them. It has been a question much controverted by ancient and modern authors, whether there was a Greek version of the Old Testament more ancient than that which is supposed to have been made by the seventy-two interpreters, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt. If we may believe Megasthenes, some part of the Bible was translated into Greek, especially the writings of Moses, in the time of the Persian monarchy. This author is quoted by Eusebius, who likewise produces the testimony of Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, to the same purpose, which imports, that before Alexander conquered the Persians, some authors had translated that which concerned the departure of the Jews out of Egypt, the most considerable events that befell

Præparat. Evan. lib. ix. c. 3. 6. & lib. xiii. c. 11.

them, the taking of their country, and the explication of their law. But these writers carry small authority among learned men, who generally pronounce them to be spurious, so that they conclude nothing upon this subject. That which is said further of the knowledge which some pagan philosophers had of things contained in the books of Moses, is very uncertain; and though we should allow it to be true, it will not follow from thence that there was a Greek version of the Pentateuch. They might have had that knowledge from the Egyptians, or even from some Jews they conferred with, as Clearchus says, that a Jew interpreted the holy scripture to Aristotle. Origen asserts, that Plato had either learned divers things from the Jews, or had himself read divers things in the books of the prophets. It is then possible, according to Origen, that Plato had written many things agreeable to the history and laws of Moses; and that he had drawn things out of that fountain, without having read the sacred books, and only by conference with Jews.

Lib. vi. adv. Cels.

The most celebrated version of the Hebrew text is the translation called the Septuagint; that was the work of the seventy Jews, whose history we have written by Aristeas, supposed to have been one of the officers of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, who ordered this version to be made. This account is written in the form of a letter by the author, to his brother Philocrates. He relates, that Demetrius Phalereus, librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, having undertaken to furnish the library of that prince with all the books in the world, shewed him that the law of Moses deserved highly to be admitted; and that Ptolemy having answered him,

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that it was his fault it was not; Demetrius replied, that it must be first translated, because it was written in a language and characters unknown to the Egyptians. Upon this, the king wrote to the high priest of the Jews; and Aristeas, the author of this history, made use of this opportunity to obtain the liberty of the Jews who were captives in Egypt, and had been brought thither by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, father to Philadelphus: for this purpose he represents unto the king, that he could not send ambassadors to the Jews to demand their laws, whilst he kept so many of that nation captives in his kingdom; and that he ought so much the rather to set them at liberty, because it was the God of their law who made his reign happy, who knew all things, and was the Creator of the universe. The king having asked how many of those captives there might be in his kingdom, Andreas, one of his guards, answered, That the number might be somewhat above a hundred thousand. And do you think, says the king, that this is a moderate request that Aristeas asks? to this Sosybius of Tarentum, one of his favourites, replied, The greater the indulgence was, the more it became so great a king. The favour was obtained, and a decree published for the release of all the Jewish captives in Egypt; and the king ordered twenty drachms a head to be paid out of his treasury to the masters for every Jewish captive, and that they should be immediately set at liberty. The price of their redemption was computed to amount to four hundred talents, which shews the number of the redeemed to have been a hundred and twenty thousand. He afterwards redeemed the children that were born in servitude, and the mo-

thers of them; which made the whole number of the redeemed amount to a hundred and ninety-eight thousand, and the price of them, at twenty drachms a head, made the sum six hundred and sixty talents. When this was put in execution, Demetrius presented a memorial to the king, which signified, that it was convenient to write to the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, to send him a true copy of the Hebrew original, and six men out of every tribe, noted for their virtue, learning, and age, to make an exact version into the Greek language. Accordingly a letter was written in the king's name to Eleazar the high priest, and Aristeas our historian and Andrew were sent with it to Jerusalem. Our author gives a copy of the king's letter, and the names of the seventy-two persons who were to translate the law. He afterwards gives an ample account of the magnificent present sent by king Ptolemy to Eleazar, with a description of the city of Jerusalem, the temple, and all its parts. He speaks of the plenty of the country; of the knowledge and learning of the interpreters; and of their grief at parting with Eleazar. He relates a long discourse of Eleazar's upon the Jewish law; and after this long digression returns to his history, and tells us in what manner the seventy-two envoys were received by the king; how they presented and unfolded before him the books of the law, which Ptolemy adored. After this he comes with a longer digression, wherein he gives an account of the questions which the king asked the interpreters for three days together, and of the answer given by each; and this he did to try their learning and abilities. At last Aristeas comes to the matter of the translation, and says only, that

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Demetrius carried those seventy-two persons into an island along a pier of seven furlongs, which joined the island to the continent, and put them into a house upon the bank of the sea, where they translated the law. So that after they agreed upon the version of each period, by common conference, Demetrius wrote it down; this they did for seventy-two days together, and upon the last of them they finished the version. Demetrius afterwards caused it to be read in the presence of an assembly of Jews, who approved of it, and declared it was exact and faithful. He read it also to the king, who was much surprised that none of the historians or poets had made mention of it. To which Demetrius answered, That this law being holy and divine, they dared not mix it with profane things; and that the historian Theopompus, and the poet Theodectes, having offered to mention something of it in their works, were punished for it; the one by the loss of his senses, and the other by the loss of his sight. In short, the king gave to each of the seventy-two three rich garments, two talents of gold, and a cup of gold of a talent weight, and sent them all home into their own country. This is the account given by Aristeas.

As to the place where this version was made, Philo the Jew, Justin Martyr, and others, tell us, it was in the great tower in the isle of Pharos, which was set up to direct the mariners in the dangerous seas of Alexandria; and (if credit may be given to some Jewish and Christian writers) there were distinct apartments wherein these interpreters separately performed the task which they were set about. They did the work, each of them, in divers rooms,

say the Talmud and the rabbins. They were put into seventy distinct cells, when they translated the Bible, says Justin Martyr, in his Apology to the Roman emperor; and he adds moreover, that he was at Pharos, and saw what was left of those cells. And with him agree Irenæus, Clemens of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Augustin; and though an Arabic commentator upon the Pentateuch (cited by Mr. Gregory in his History of the Seventy-two Interpreters, for whom he is a strenuous advocate) reports, that the seventy seniors disagreed in their translation the first time, and so were set to it again, yet these Fathers take notice of no such thing, but tell us, that though these translators were separated into distinct places by themselves, yet they all agreed in the very same words and syllables: which they borrowed, it is likely, from Philo, who had expressly said, They all exactly agreed on the same words to interpret the Chaldee by, (for he called it the Chaldee instead of the Hebrew,) as if some person stood by them, and invisibly dictated to them, although the Chaldee might be translated divers ways, the Greek language being so copious. And he further adds, that there was a feast yearly in the Pharos, whither the Jews went to solemnize it, and to see the place where this version was made. Josephus, who treats purposely of the turning of the law into Greek by king Ptolemy's order, says nothing of the different cells, nor does he represent the interpreters as inspired persons. St. Jerome, who was a searching man, was the first of the Fathers that opposed and contradicted this story, declaring that he could not believe any thing concerning these distinct rooms and apartments,

De Vit. Mos. lib. ii.

Antiq. lib. xii. c. 2.

Præfat. in Pentateuch.

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and the miraculous agreement of the translators in these separated cells, giving this reason for it, Because neither Aristeas nor Josephus speak a word of them.

That great critic Mr. Gregory is not satisfied with this reason of St. Jerome, but asserts roundly, that Jerome had made a new translation of the Bible out of the Hebrew himself, wherein he very much differed from the Seventy; and so he was obliged to disparage the cells and the translators, to make way for his own translation. But this is an uncharitable censure of so great a Father. Father Simon gives another account of this matter: he asserts, that the Hellenistical Jews who read the translation of the Seventy in their synagogues, were the inventors of this history of the translators, and put it out in the name of one Aristeas. And the same person moreover presents us with this new conceit, that it was called *the translation of the Seventy*, not from seventy translators, who were the authors of it, but from the seventy judges, that is, the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, who authorized and approved of it.

Critic. History, book ii.

The authority of Aristeas's history has been long the subject of contention among learned men; but the most prevailing opinion is, (and indeed it seems to be best supported,) that the whole is a manifest fiction, contrived by a Hellenist Jew of Alexandria, to give the greater authority to this translation: and the reasons are supposed to be unanswerable; for the author speaks always as a Jew, and, which is more, he makes all the parties concerned speak in the same manner, and relates abundance of things which no man, but a person instructed in the Jewish religion, could write and explain; and at the same

time, the author pretends to be a pagan Greek. The sum which Ptolemy is said to advance for procuring this version is wholly incredible; for the money he expended to redeem the Jewish captives, the vessels of gold and silver, and the precious stones he sent to the temple; the money he gave for sacrifices, the presents he bestowed upon the interpreters, and the charges he was at in fetching them to Alexandria, maintaining them there, and sending them back to Jerusalem, is computed to amount to about two millions sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty times as much as that library was ever worth. The questions proposed to the seventy-two interpreters do evidently carry with them the air of fiction and romance. The making of seventy-two elders to be sent from Alexandria to Jerusalem upon this occasion, and these to be chosen by six out of every tribe, by the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, looks altogether like a Jewish invention, framed with respect to the Jewish sanhedrim, and the number of the twelve tribes of Israel, it being unaccountable that Demetrius, a pagan Greek, should know any thing of their twelve tribes, or of the numbers of the seventy-two elders, of which their sanhedrim consisted. Besides, it is not to be supposed that there were in the whole nation seventy-two persons who understood the original text of the Hebrew, and were so well acquainted with the Greek language, as to translate into it; for the Hebrew was disused after the captivity, and Chaldee was the common speech; and till the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews had no communication with the Greeks; and it was not above fifty-five years since that conqueror was at Jerusalem; and the time fixed

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for this translation, wherein though some few possibly might have some knowledge of the Greek tongue, yet that six out of every tribe living in Judæa should be so skilful in it, is scarce to be imagined. And after all, there can be no probable reason given why seventy-two should be sent for this purpose, when seven were abundantly sufficient. The most ancient Talmudists say, that there were only five employed in this work; and this is by much the more likely of the two. As for the testimony of Philo and the Christian Fathers, who gave credit to this history of the interpreters, and in some circumstances made additions to it, it is evident they must either be imposed upon by others, or owe these particulars to their own fancy; for so many contradictions, uncertainties, and various accounts, overthrow the authority of the whole story, and plainly prove that all that has been delivered concerning it is no more than fable and romance, without any other foundation, excepting that in the reigns of Ptolemy Philadelphus such a version of the law of Moses was made by the Alexandrian Jews into the Greek language, as those authors give an account of. For,

Tract. Sopherim, c. 1.

Alexander, upon the building of Alexandria, brought a great many Jews thither, in order to plant his new city; and Ptolemy Soter having fixed the seat of his government in that place, and resolving to increase the number of inhabitants, brought thither many more of this nation, and indulging them with the same privileges enjoyed by the Macedonians and other Greeks, they soon grew to be a great part of the people of that city, and by degrees so accustomed themselves to the Greek language,

that they forgot their own; so that they could no longer understand the Hebrew language, in which the scriptures were hitherto first read, nor the Chaldee, in which they were afterwards interpreted in every synagogue; they were obliged therefore to have them translated into Greek for their use, that this version might serve for the same purpose in Alexandria and Egypt, as the Chaldee Paraphrases afterwards did in Jerusalem and Judæa. And this was the original and true cause of the making of the Greek version; which has since, from the fable of Aristeas, been called the Septuagint; for that history obtaining credit both among Jews and Christians, soon gave that name of distinction to that translation. No more than the Pentateuch was at first translated, for at that time, as has been before observed, no other books of the scriptures were publicly read in their synagogues: but when afterwards, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the reading of the prophets came into use in the synagogues of Judæa, and the Jews of Alexandria were likewise obliged to use the same method, they were forced to make a translation also of the prophets into the Greek language. And after this, other persons translated the rest of the scriptures for the private use of the same people, and so the whole version called the Septuagint was completed; and after it was finished, it was made use of among all the churches of the Hellenistical Jews wherever they were dispersed among the Grecian cities; for that this translation was made at different times, and by different persons, the various styles in which the several books are found written, the many ways in which the same Hebrew words, and the same He-

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brew things are translated in different places, and the greater accuracy to be observed in the translation of some of the books above others, are a full demonstration.

The Jews had the stated lessons read out of this version in their synagogues, and they had copies of it at home for their private use; and thus they seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till the time of Christ. But when the gospel was propagated to all nations, this version of the Hebrew scriptures was propagated with it among all that understood the Greek tongue, and as Christianity increased, so did the credit of this Greek translation of the Old Testament scriptures. The apostles and evangelists frequently made citations out of it, and so did all the primitive fathers of the church.

CHAP. LVI.

The Greek version of Aquila the Jew.

AS this version grew into use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews; for the Christians urging many arguments against them out of this translation, they resolved to make a new one, that was fitter for their purpose, and would serve their turn better.

The person who undertook this work was Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus: he was bred a pagan, and applied himself to magic and judicial astrology; but being affected with the miracles done by the professors of Christianity in his time, he became a convert upon the same foot with Simon Magus, out of an expectation of being able to perform

the same works: but finding his hopes disappointed, he went on with his magic and astrology, which coming to the knowledge of the governors of the church, they admonished him first, and upon his obstinacy excommunicated him. This usage enraged him so, he apostatized to the Jews, was circumcised, and became a proselyte to their religion; and for his improvement in it, he procured himself to be admitted into the school of rabbi Akiba, the most celebrated doctor of the Jewish law in his time, and under him he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Jewish language, and of the scriptures that were written in it, that he was thought sufficient for this work, and accordingly undertook it, and made two editions of it. The first he published in the twelfth year of the reign of Adrian the Roman emperor, which was the year of Christ a hundred and twenty-eight: but afterwards he revised, and made it more correct, and published a second edition of it. He stuck closely and servilely to the letter, rendering word for word, as near as he could, whether the idioms and proprieties of the language he translated into, or the true sense of the text, would bear it or no; and therefore his version is judged rather to have been a good dictionary, to give the meaning of the Hebrew words, than a good interpretation to explain the sense of the text. CHAP. LVI.

This version was received by the Hellenistical Jews, and afterwards used every where instead of the Septuagint, and therefore this Greek translation is often mentioned in the Talmud, but the Septuagint never. And in this use of it they continued till the finishing and publication of both the Talmuds. After that time the notion grew among them, that the scrip-

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tures ought not to be read in any of their synagogues, but in the old form, that is, in the Hebrew first, and then by way of interpretation in the Chaldee, and the decrees of the doctors were urged for this method. But the Hellenistical Jews, after so long a use of a Greek version, not easily coming into this, it caused great divisions and disturbances among them, which gave occasion to a decree published by Justinian, still extant among his Novel Constitutions, which ordained that the Jews might read the scriptures in their synagogues, either in the Greek version of the Septuagint, or in that of Aquila, according to the country in which they should dwell. But the Jewish doctors having determined otherwise, their decrees obtained against the emperor's, and in a short time after they rejected both versions; and ever since the solemn reading of the scriptures in their public assemblies has been in the Hebrew and (very rarely) in the Chaldee languages.

CHAP. LVII.

The Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrases.

THE Chaldean language is the same which, being used in Assyria, the Jews, after their return from Babylon, used for their common language, and in process of time became their natural tongue. This gave birth to the Chaldee Paraphrases of the original text of the Bible, called *Targum*, which signifies *interpretation*, or *translation*; for the doctors of the Jewish law finding themselves under a necessity to make the Jews understand the text of the holy scripture after the captivity, which was read in Hebrew

in their synagogues, were forced to explain the law to them in a language they understood; and this is the true origin of the Chaldee Paraphrases.

The Targums that are now remaining were composed by different persons upon different parts of scripture, and are of eight sorts: 1. The Targum of Onkelos upon the five books of Moses. 2. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel upon the Prophets, that is, upon Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets. 3. The Targum ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, upon the Law. 4. The Jerusalem Targum upon the Law. 5. The Targum on the five lesser books, called the Megilloth, that is, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. 6. The second Targum upon Esther. 7. The Targum of Joseph the One-eyed, upon the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs. 8. The Targum upon the First and Second Book of Chronicles. Upon Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel there is no Targum at all. Indeed a great part of Daniel and Ezra is written originally in Chaldee, and therefore there was no need of a Chaldee Paraphrase upon them; but Nehemiah is written wholly in the Hebrew tongue, and no doubt anciently there were Chaldee Paraphrases upon all the Hebrew parts of those books, though they are now lost.

The Targum of Onkelos is, without doubt, the most ancient that is now extant. He was certainly older than Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the author of the second Targum, (who is supposed to have lived in our Saviour's time,) who could have no reason to omit the law in his Paraphrase, but that he found

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Onkelos had done this work before him, and with that success in the performance which he could not exceed. No Chaldee writing, now extant, comes nearer the style of what is written in that language by Daniel and Ezra, than the Targum of Onkelos, which is a good argument for its antiquity. It is rather a version than a paraphrase, for the Hebrew text is rendered word for word, and for the most part with great exactness; it has ever been preferred by the Jews to all other Targums, and it being set to the same musical notes with the Hebrew text, it is made capable of being read in the same tone with it in their public assemblies; and accordingly the Jews thinking themselves obliged to read twice that section of the law, which was the lesson of the week, (that is, in the Hebrew original first, and then in the Chaldee interpretation after it,) made use of the Targum of Onkelos for that purpose.

The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel upon the Prophets is next to that of Onkelos in the purity of its style, but not in the manner of its composure; for Jonathan takes the liberty of a paraphrast, by enlarging and adding to the text; for several stories and glosses of his own are inserted, which are no reputation to the work. The Jews not only give him the preference to all the disciples of Hillel, but equal him even to Moses himself.

The Targum ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel upon the Law, is none of his, as appears sufficiently by the style: who was the true author of it, or when it was composed, is utterly unknown. It seems to have lain long in obscurity among the Jews themselves; for no notice was taken of it, till it was published in print at Venice about a hundred and fifty

years since, and the name of Jonathan, it is probable, was put before it, for no other reason than to give it the more credit, and the better to recommend it by that specious title to the buyer.

The Jerusalem Targum upon the Law was so called, because it was written in the Jerusalem dialect. There were three dialects of the Chaldean language: the first was spoken in Babylon the metropolis of the Assyrian empire; the second was the Commagenian, or Antiochian, that was spoken in Commagena, Antioch, and the rest of Syria; the third was the Jerusalem dialect, which was spoken by the Jews after the captivity. The Babylonian and Jerusalem dialects were written in the same character, but the Antiochian in a different, and is the same with what we call Syriac, which though it be reckoned a different language from the Chaldee, is the very same, only expressed in different characters, and differing a little only in the dialect. The purest style which we have of the Jerusalem dialect is first in the Targum of Onkelos, and next in that of Jonathan; but the Jerusalem Targum is written in a most barbarous style, intermixed with a great many foreign words taken from the Greek, Latin, and Persian languages. This Targum is not a continued paraphrase, as the rest are, but only upon some parts here and there, as the author thought the text most wanted an explication, and sometimes whole chapters are passed over. It is written by an unknown hand, and the time when it was composed is uncertain, but it is conjectured to have been written some time after the third century.

The fifth Targum, which is that on the Megilloth, and the sixth, which is the second Targum on the

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Book of Esther, are written in the corrupted Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect; but the author of these is unknown. The seventh, which is upon Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets, is equally corrupt, and said to be written by Joseph the One-eyed, who is as much unknown as the author of the other two. The second Targum on Esther is twice as large as the first, and seems to have been written the last of all the Targums, by reason of the barbarity of its style. The first Targum upon Esther is a part of the Targum upon the Megilloth, which makes mention of the Babylonish Talmud, and therefore must have been written after the year of Christ five hundred. The last Targum upon the First and Second Book of Chronicles was not known till the year sixteen hundred and eighty, when Beckius, from an old manuscript, published at Augsburg in Germany that part which is upon the first book; and the paraphrase upon the second, he published three years afterwards at the same place.

Leusden. Philol. Hebræ. Mixt. Dissert. v. sect. 5.

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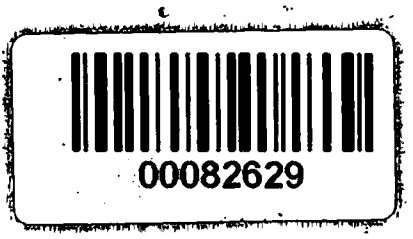
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